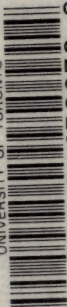


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE
LIVES
OF
THE PURITANS.

VOL. II.

THE

CLIVES

FOR

THE BUILDING

VOL. II.

THE
LIVES
OF
THE PURITANS:

CONTAINING

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THOSE DIVINES WHO
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE

OF

Religious Liberty,

FROM THE REFORMATION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH,
TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY,
IN 1662.

BY BENJAMIN BROOK.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

~~~~~  
VOL. II.

Of whom the world was not worthy.—HEBREWS.

The Nonconformists have suffered what is next to death, and too many have suffered even unto death: of whom then shall their deaths be required?—BISHOP MORTON.

—◆—  
London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,

YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

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1813.

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of whom the world was not worthy. — Her name  
The world has suffered what is hard to hear, and too many  
have added even unto death: of whom shall their hearts be  
rejoice? — Her name.

London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,

1813.



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THE

## LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

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**JOHN UDAL.**—This celebrated puritan was educated in the university of Cambridge, and was a man of excellent parts, great learning, genuine piety, and untarnished loyalty to Queen Elizabeth, but a great sufferer on account of his nonconformity. He was preacher about seven years, at Kingston-upon-Thames; but afterwards deprived, imprisoned, and condemned; and, at last, he died quite heart-broken in prison. Some of his hearers at Kingston, taking offence at his faithful warnings and admonitions, brought complaints against him to those in power, when he was put to silence by the official, Dr. Hone, and committed to prison. But by the unsolicited favour and influence of the Countess of Warwick, Sir Drue Drury, and other excellent persons, he was released, and restored to his ministry.

September 26, 1586, he was convened before the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of Windsor, when they entered upon the following conversation :

Bishop. Mr. Udal, you are beholden to my lady of Warwick. She hath been earnest for you, and telleth me, that you will submit yourself.

Udal. I thank God for her ladyship's care. I am contented, and always have been, to submit to any thing that is just and godly.

B. What you will do, I know not. Hitherto you have not done it; for you refused to swear according to law.

U. By your honour's favour, I never refused to swear, so far as the law doth bind me.

B. No! Wherefore then were you committed?

U. You know best. I was contented to swear, if I might first see the articles.

B. That is a slender foundation to stand upon.

U. It is to me a matter of great importance. For with what conscience can I call the Lord to witness, and protest by his name, that I will answer I know not what?

Dean. Mr. Udal, the things objected against you, I dare say, are against your doctrine, or your life, which are no secrets.

B. Nay, they charge nothing against his life, but his doctrine only.

U. The greater is the mercy of God towards me. For I have given the greater offence by my life; but it hath pleased him so to keep my sins from their sight, that I might suffer for his sake. Your restraining me from my ministry, makes the world believe, that the slanders raised against me are true; the ignorant call in question the gospel which I have preached; and thus a door is widely opened for every wicked man to condemn the doctrine of our Saviour.

Here the bishop laid all the blame on Mr. Udal, and discovered so hard a heart against the suffering church of God, that Mr. Udal burst into a flood of tears, and was constrained to turn aside, to weep for the space of half an hour. Upon his return, he was addressed as follows:

B. Will you answer the articles charged against you, that these things may be redressed?

U. If I may first see them, I shall be satisfied.

B. Mr. Hartwell, write to the register to let him see them; then go with him to some of the commissioners to swear him.

U. This will be a long course. I pray you, that, in the mean time, I may continue my ministry, for the good of the poor people.

B. That you may not. Now that you are suspended, you must so abide, until you be cleared.

U. Then whatsoever becomes of me, I beseech you, let the poor people have a preacher.

B. That is a good motion, and I will look after it.

Mr. Udal then receiving the letter, departed; and the articles being shewn him, he was taken to Dr. Hammond to be sworn, who said, "You must swear to answer these articles, so far as the law bindeth you." "Do you mean," said Mr. Udal, "that I shall answer them, so far as it appeareth to me, that I am by law required?" And finding that he might, he took the oath, and delivered to the register his answers to all the articles in writing. These articles, with the answers, are now before me, and are

thirty-six in number; but too long for insertion.\* They contain the charges which certain ill-disposed persons, in the parish of Kingston, brought against him to the high commission. His answers, indeed, furnished the commissioners with sufficient matter for animadversion, when he underwent his next examination. October 17th he was convened before the high commission, at Lambeth; when Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishops of Winchester and Hereford, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Lewin, Dr. Cosin, Mr. Hartwell, and others, were present. Upon the reading of the articles and his answers, they made their remarks as follows:

Archbishop. You are not to judge, Mr. Udal, *who walk disorderly*; nor account any so to do, till it be proved.

U. How shall I count him to do otherwise, who giveth himself up to notorious sins; and after being admonished, not only amendeth not, but goeth on more stubborn than before?

B. You must do more than that.

U. You mean, we must present them; and so we have done several; but presentment is of no use.

A. You must expect what will follow, and not appoint your own time.

U. We may do this long enough before we see any redress, so long as things are managed thus. I have seen malefactors presented two or three years ago, but of whose trials we have heard nothing.

A. You say, Christ is the only archbishop. Why do you not call him arch-pastor and arch-shepherd?

U. As I am at liberty to call the ministers of Christ by those titles given them by the Holy Ghost, as pastors, shepherds, and watchmen; so, I think, I may Jesus Christ.

A. No, no; the archbishop was in your way, and it troubled you to think of him. But there will be an archbishop when you shall be no preacher at Kingston.

B. The rest of that article is sophistical, or like Apollo the oracle.

U. Perhaps I have taken some advantage of the words, and not answered according to the meaning thereof, as the law requireth.

A. Those elders of which you speak, were bishops, and not any other.

U. In 1 Cor. xii. governors are mentioned as distinct from teachers.



A. That is meant of *civil* governors, and not of a company of unlearned, simple men, as you would have it.

U. The apostle there speaketh of those who were ordained in the church. But it is of no use to dispute these matters in this place.

A. When you say, that pastors may do nothing by their own discretion, but only by the direction of the word of God, you say true; but in this, you strike at something else.

B. Many things are lawful, and may be done, that have no direct warrant from the word.

U. If that can be proved, it is sufficient, and agreeable to my answer.

B. What occasion had you to speak of such matters as officers, orders, canons, &c.?

U. I have not chosen those subjects on purpose, and have spoken upon them only as they came in my way. This I must do, or I could not declare all the council of God.

Dr. Cosin. That you will never do while you live.

U. But I must deliver as much as I know.

A. It is because you would rail against authority.

B. Why do you wish that the public service were abridged? It may all be read in three quarters of an hour.

U. But I have known it, with other business to be done before sermon, to last about two hours.

A. They who are wearied with it, are your scholars, who can away with nothing but your sermons.

U. My scholars never keep out till the sermon begins; but if any of them be weary of the service, I never taught them so to be.

A. All the service might be read well enough; but you will stand in your vain repetitions, both in your prayers and your sermons, and make no account of so doing.

U. I pray you have a better opinion of me, unless you know that what you say is true.

A. Nay, I speak not of you alone, but all of your sort: this is your manner. Why should you preach, that some persons make but small account of sermons?

U. Because I know it to be true.

B. Though persons may have been of that mind, they may be altered.

A. When you spoke of Christ's descent into hell, that which you said is most absurd.



B. The places in Peter and Acts, are monstrously abused by Calvin and others, who hold that opinion. For who ever knew sepulchre mean hell?

U. The original word there used, is often taken for grave, though it also means hell?

Hartwell. Shew me one place, if you can.

U. That I can easily do; for as often as the Hebrew word in the Old Testament, meaneth grave, so does also the Greek.

H. How can that be? The Old Testament was written in Hebrew, and not in Greek.

U. Do you not know that the Septuagint is in Greek, in which you will find what I say is true?

A. How can the soul go into the grave? What an absurd thing is that!

U. The Hebrew word usually signifieth the whole man: as Gen. xvi. it is said, "There went seventy souls, that is, seventy persons, into Egypt."

A. Do you then believe that Christ, both soul and body, went into the grave?

U. No. But it is, also, often taken for the body; and whenever it is thus taken, it is so translated in the Septuagint: as Lam. i. 19.

H. I wish I had a book, that I might see it.

A. The human soul of Christ after his death, descended into the place of the *damned*; and whosoever believeth not this, but denieth it, is an *heretic*.

U. The church of England is taught, and also believeth, that which you account heresy.

A. No matter for that. We receive nothing for the doctrine of the church of England, but that which is authorized by act of parliament.

U. Then your doctrine is not the doctrine of the church. For one of her articles saith only, that Christ descended into hell, without expressing how.

A. You speak of unpreaching ministers being foisted in by satan, that you may disgrace authority.

B. If a minister be learned, yet hath no utterance, will you disallow him as unfit?

U. Yes, that I will; because the word of God disalloweth him.

B. Where, I pray you, that I may know it?

U. In 1 Tim. iii. 2., 2 Tim. ii. 24. He must be *apt to teach*, which implieth not only knowledge, but utterance,

and *willingness*, by which he may be able to communicate his knowledge to others.

B. He may catechise.

U. That is not sufficient.

B. You say it was not made the office of a minister to bury the dead, till the time of popery. In this you lie, sir.

A. It appeareth that ministers did bury the dead in the time of Jerome, which was within four hundred years of Christ.

U. Popery began before Jerome's time.

B. That is untrue; nor many years after. Herein you shew what knowledge you have.

U. I boast not of my knowledge; yet what I say is true. For doth not St. Paul say, that the mystery of iniquity began to work even in his time? And all approved writers expound this of the kingdom of antichrist.

C. Mr. Hartwell, he is beholden to you; for your reason will help him to overthrow Mr. Jewel's challenge.

U. Not a whit. For Jewel's challenge concerns only certain points of popery, and this is none of them. Popery was long a patching together, and is still going forwards at this day.

A. Why may not many persons as well pray together aloud, as sing psalms.

U. Because the one hath better warrant from the word of God, than the other.

B. Ah, sirrah! You wish you had allured ten times more disciples to Christ than you have done.

Dr. Aubery. Had you then your license from me?

U. No; I had nothing from you, except the parchment and the wax.

C. He answereth you foolishly.

U. It is not so. I speak thus to shew the meaning of what I said the last time I was here, with which the idle by-standers made themselves sport.

A. What was that?

U. I say, I took myself to be as lawfully licensed to preach as any man could be. For my sufficiency was approved by the archbishop, and I had no more from his officers than as I said.

Aub. I remember not that you had any thing of me.

U. I have it to shew; and it is no counterfeit.

A. In speaking upon confirmation, which is doubtless still profitable, did you teach the right use of that office?

U. I taught that which the text afforded me.

B. My lord, he hath, indeed, great injury done him, if the charges be not true. Let a commissioner be sent to examine witnesses.

A. You had best name some yourself, Mr. Udal.

U. I will name for one, Mr. Thomas Vincent.

A. He is thought to be too partial to your side.

U. Then I will name Mr. William Walter, the younger.

A. He may be too partial also.

U. You may appoint two of my greatest foes, so that I may have my friends, who will deal uprightly; but if these may not be admitted, I will appoint none.

A. Stand aside. We will consult of this matter.

Upon their consultation, they concluded to appoint no fresh witnesses; but to have those who were present brought forwards. It was very remarkable, that the man who had lodged the information against Mr. Udal, and who meant to have appeared as a witness against him, was, at this very juncture, seized with a dreadful disease, of which he presently died. His case was, therefore, deferred for some time. The Countess of Warwick applied to the archbishop, who gave order for Mr. Udal to appear before him; but he had to wait upon his lordship four different times, before he could obtain any satisfactory answer. At length, he attended while the commissioners were sitting, when they proceeded as follows:

A. Mr. Beadle, is there any thing written down in proof of those articles?

Beadle. If it please your grace, the man who should have followed this matter, is dead.

A. Is he of the guard, dead?

U. Yes, he is dead; but I wish, if it had been the will of God, that he might have lived longer; both that it might have appeared what he could prove against me, and that he might have had time to repent of his sin. But God is just, and knoweth what he hath done.

A. My lord of Winchester, here is a copy of the articles. Deal you with him.

U. I pray you let it not be deferred, but an end made one way or other, that I may take some course with the living.

A. You may take what course you please. Who hindereth you?



U. Surely, I sought not after you, but being sent for, I came.

B. You must abide by the course of the law.

U. I think I have cleared myself by my answers.

B. Nay, by your leave, you have not. Your answers accuse you.

U. Then dispatch me accordingly. It is chargeable and burdensome to attend so often from day to day.

A. My lord of Winchester, appoint him to attend on Friday come sevensnight.

B. I am content. Come in the afternoon.

Mr. Udal then departed, intending to appear according to appointment. In the mean time, the Countess of Warwick wrote a pressing letter to the bishop, in his behalf. Upon his appearance, after long attendance, he was called before the bishop, who thus addressed him :

B. The articles brought against you, are not to be proved; for the witnesses fear the displeasure of your numerous friends, which is a very hard case.

U. It is hard, if it be true. But there is no such fear, only they are unable to prove more than I have already confessed.

B. You have, indeed, confessed sufficient against yourself.

U. Let it then appear. For I must justify all that I have confessed, until it be refuted; and when it is refuted, I shall be willing to recant, in the same place in which it was spoken.

B. I will not deal with you in that way. But for the sake of your friends, and other causes, I am willing to restore you to your preaching, if you will assure me under your own hand, that you will speak no more against any thing by authority established.

U. I will promise you to preach nothing but the word of God.

B. The word of God, as you are pleased to call it !

U. If I be unable to understand what is, and what is not, the word of God, I am unfit to be a preacher, and so you may finally dismiss me. It were better for me to be a ploughman, than a preacher, under any other conditions.

B. Then I may not admit you. This would help to increase controversies.

U. I will promise you to promote the peace of the church, all that I can. More I cannot do.

B. Well, I will seek advice about it. In the mean time you may depart.

Mr. Udal, having departed, communicated an account of these transactions to his friends, and the Countess of Warwick sent a messenger to the bishop for a decisive answer. Therefore, by her godly and zealous importunity, his lordship sent for Mr. Udal, when he thus addressed him :

B. I am to restore you, Mr. Udal, to your former place of preaching; yet I must admonish you to refrain from speaking against things by law established. For, surely, if you give occasion to be again deprived, no subject in England shall obtain your restoration.

U. Surely, I have not at any time, purposely said any thing tending thereunto. But I may never conceal the truth which my text offereth me.

B. We had need walk warily. Things are out of square. There is much inquiry where is the cause. Some blame us bishops; but God knoweth where the blame is. I think it is in the controversy among ourselves.

U. So do I. But in whom is the cause of the controversy, I shall not now dispute. I came for another purpose.

B. Take heed you do not triumph over your enemies. This will create greater variance and dissention.

U. If I should be restored, I am determined to pass it over in silence, and leave my enemies to their maker and judge. I must suffer greater things than these for Christ's sake.

B. Well, this is all I have to say to you at this time.

Mr. Udal then departed, having obtained his liberty to continue preaching; for which he blessed and praised God, and prayed that these troubles might be over-ruled for the advancement of God's glory, and the further prosperity of his church.\*

Thus, after much trouble and expense, with the loss of much time, this learned and excellent divine was restored to his ministry. About the same time, he united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† His troubles, however, were not ended. In the year 1588, he was again suspended and deprived of his living. Having received the ecclesiastical censure a second time, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne prevailed upon the Earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, to send him to preach the word of life among them. Therefore, being driven from his living and his flock at Kingston, he went

\* MS. Register, p. 772—781.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

to Newcastle, where his ministerial labours, during his continuance, were greatly blessed to many souls. But Mr. Udal had not been there above a year, (the plague being in the town all the time, which carried off two thousand of its inhabitants,) when, by an order from the privy council, he was sent for to London. He immediately obeyed the summons, and appeared at Lord Cobham's house, January 13, 1589. The commissioners present were Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Lewin, Mr. Fortesque, and Egerton the solicitor. The lord chief justice then entered upon his examination in the following manner:

Anderson. How long have you been at Newcastle?

Udal. About a year, if it please your lordship.

A. Why went you from Kingston-upon-Thames?

U. Because I was silenced there, and was called to Newcastle.

Bishop. What calling had you thither?

U. The people made means to my lord of Huntingdon, who sent me thither.

B. Had you the allowance of the bishop of the diocese?

U. At that time, there was none.

A. You are called hither to answer concerning certain books, which are thought to be of your making.

U. If it be for any of Martin's books, I have already answered, and am ready so to do again.

A. Where have you answered, and in what manner?

U. At Lambeth, a year and a half ago, I cleared myself not to be the author, nor to know who he was.

A. Is this true, Mr. Beadle?

Beadle. I have heard that there was such a thing, but I was not there, if it please your lordship.

Aubery and Lewin. There was such a thing, my lord's grace told us.

U. I am the hardlier dealt with, to be fetched up so far, at this time of the year. I have had a journey, I would not wish unto my enemy.

B. You may thank your own dealing for it.

A. But you are to answer concerning *other* books.

U. I hope your lordship will not urge me to any others, seeing I was sent for about those.

A. You must answer to others also: What say you of "A Demonstration" and "A Dialogue?" did you not make them?



U. I cannot answer.

A. Why would you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these, but that you are guilty?

U. Not so, my lord. I have reason to answer in the one, but not in the other.

A. I pray let us hear your reason; for I cannot conceive of it, seeing they are all written concerning one matter.

U. This is the matter, my lord. I hold the matter proposed in them to be all one; but I would not be thought to handle it in that manner, which the former books do; and because I think otherwise of the latter, I care not though they should be fathered upon me.

Buckhurst. But, I pray you tell me, know you not Penry?

U. Yes, my lord, that I do.

Buck. And do you not know him to be Martin?

U. No, surely, nor do I think him to be Martin.

Buck. What is your reason?

U. This, my lord: when it first came out, he, understanding that some gave him out to be the author, wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he denied it, in such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.

Buck. Where is that letter?

U. Indeed I cannot tell you. For I have forgotten to whom it was written.

Buck. You will not tell where it is.

U. Why, my lord, it tendeth to the clearing of one, and the accusation of none.

Buck. Can you tell where Penry is?

U. No, surely, my lord.

Buck. When did you see him?

U. About a quarter of a year ago.

Buck. Where did you see him?

U. He called at my door and saluted me.

Buck. Nay, he remained belike with you.

U. No, indeed; he neither came into my house, nor did he so much as drink with me.

Buck. How came you acquainted with him?

U. I think at Cambridge; but I have often been in his company.

Buck. Where?

U. At various places.

A. What say you? did you make these books? or know you who made them?

U. I cannot answer to that question, my lord.

A. You had as good say you were the author.

U. That will not follow.

Cobham. Mr. Udal, if you be not the author, say so; and if you be, confess it: You may find favour.

U. My lord, I think the author, for any thing I know, did well; and I know he is inquired after to be punished; therefore, I think it my duty to hinder the finding of him out, which I cannot do better than thus.

A. And why so, I pray you?

U. Because, if every one that is suspected do deny it, the author at length must needs be found out.

A. Why dare you not confess it, if you be the author? Dare you not stand to your own doings?

U. I professed before, that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them: but whether I made them or no, I will not answer. Besides, if I were the author, I think that by law I need not answer.

A. That is true, if it concerned the loss of your life.\*

Fortesque. I pray you by what law did you preach at Newcastle, being forbidden at Kingston?

U. I know no law against it, seeing it was the official, Dr. Hone, who silenced me; whose authority reacheth not out of his own archdeaconry.

F. What was the cause for which you were silenced?

U. Surely I cannot tell, nor yet imagine.

A. Well, what say you of those books? who made them? and where were they printed?

U. Though I could tell your lordship, yet dare I not; for the reasons before alleged.

B. I pray you let me ask you a question or two concerning your book.

U. It is not yet proved to be *mine*. But I will answer to any thing concerning the *matter* of the book, so far as I know.

B. You call it a Demonstration. I pray you what is a Demonstration? I believe you know what it is.

U. If you had asked me that question when I was a boy in Cambridge of a year's standing, it had been a note of ignorance in me, to have been unable to answer you.

Egerton. Mr. Udal, I am sorry that you will not answer, nor take an oath. You are like the seminary priests; who say, there is no law to compel them to accuse themselves.

\* His judges actually tried him for his life, and condemned him.

U. Sir, if it be a liberty by law, there is no reason why they should not challenge it.

Buck. My lord, it is no standing with him. What sayest thou, wilt thou take the oath?

U. I have said as much thereunto as I can, my lord.

Aubery and Lewin. You have taken it heretofore; and why will you not take it now?

U. I was called to answer certain articles upon mine oath, when I freely confessed that against myself, which could never have been proved; and when my friends laboured to have me restored, the archbishop answered, that there was sufficient matter against me, by my own confession, why I should not be restored: whereupon I covenanted with mine own heart, never to be mine own accuser in that sort again.

B. Will you take an oath?

U. I dare not take it.

B. Then you must go to prison, and it will go hard with you. For you must remain there until you be glad to take it.

U. God's will be done. I had rather go to prison with a *good* conscience, than be at liberty with an *ill* one.

B. Your sentence for this time is, to go close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and you are beholden to my lords here, that they have heard you so long.

U. I acknowledge it, and do humbly thank their honours for it.\*

In the conclusion, Mr. Udal was sent to the Gatehouse. Take the account in his own words. "I was carried to the Gatehouse by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant to be kept close prisoner; and not to be suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or any person to speak to me. Thus I remained half a year, in all which time, my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper, she might speak to me, and I to her, of such things as she should think meet: although she made suit to the commissioners, and also to the council, for more liberty. All this time, my chamber-fellows were seminary priests, traitors, and professed papists. At the end of half a year, I was removed to the White-lion in Southwark; and then carried to the assizes at Croydon."†

July 24th, Mr. Udal, with fetters on his legs, was taken to Croydon, and indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 3.

\* State Tryals, vol. i. p. 144—146. Edit. 1719.

† Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 132.



before Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous, and seditious libel, entitled “A Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places, until the end of the World.” It was dedicated “To the supposed governors of the church of England, the archbishops, lord-bishops, archdeacons, and the rest of that order.” In the dedication of the book, are these words, as inserted in the indictment, and upon which the charge against him was founded: “Who “can, without blushing, deny you (the bishops) to be “the cause of all ungodliness: seeing your government is “that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, saving “a sound christian? For certainly it is more free in these “days, to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of love; “yea, any most wicked one whatsoever, than that which we “should be. And I could live these twenty years, any “such in England; (yea in a bishop’s house, it may be) “and never be much molested for it. So true is that which “you are charged with, in a ‘Dialogue’ lately come forth “against you, and since burned by you, that you care for “nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to “the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions “more.”\* His indictment said, “That he not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being stirred up by the *instigation of the devil*, did maliciously publish a scandalous and infamous libel against the queen’s majesty, her crown and dignity.”†

Mr. Udal being brought to the bar, and his indictment read, humbly requested their “lordships to grant him to answer by counsel;” which the judge peremptorily refused, saying, “You cannot have it. Therefore answer your indictment.” He then pleaded *not guilty*, and put himself upon the trial of his country.‡ In opening the case, Mr. Daulton, the queen’s counsel, made a long invective against the new discipline, as he was pleased to call it, which, he affirmed, was not to be found in the word of God. When he had done, Mr. Udal observed, that, as this was a controversy among learned divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his judgment, especially as he himself had formerly shewed some liking to the same cause. Upon which the judge said, “Sirrah! sirrah! answer to the

\* Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 221, 222.—Strype’s Whitgift, p. 343.

† State Tryals, vol. i. p. 147. ‡ Ibid.

matter." "Mr. Daulton," said he, "go on to prove the points in the indictment;" which were the following:

1. That Mr. Udal was the *author* of the book.
2. That he had a *malicious intent* in making it.
3. That the matters in the indictment were *felony* by the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first point to be proved, was, that Mr. Udal was the author of the book; and here it is observable, that his judges did not stand upon the formality of bringing him and his accusers face to face, and cause them to appear as witnesses against him in open court; but only their examinations were produced, to which the register swore. And, first, Stephen Chatfield's articles were brought forwards, containing a report of certain papers he had seen in Mr. Udal's study. Upon seeing them, and asking whose they were, Mr. Udal answered, "a friend's." Chatfield then desired him to get rid of them; for he feared they concerned the state. He added, that Mr. Udal told him at another time, that if the bishops put him to silence, he would give them such a blow as they never had. Chatfield was then called to witness these things, but he did not appear. Daulton said, he went out of the way on purpose. And when the judge said, "Mr. Udal, you are glad of that;" the prisoner replied, "My lord, I heartily wish he were here. For, as I am sure he could never say any thing to prove this point; so I am able to prove, that he is very sorry that he ever made any complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when Martin first came out, and by their suggestions whom he has since proved to be very bad men." Mr. Udal added, "That the book was published before he had this conversation with Chatfield." And as he proceeded, the judge interrupted him, saying, the case was sufficiently clear.

The examination of Nicholas Tomkins was next produced. This Tomkins was now beyond sea, but the paper said, that Mr. Udal had told him, he was the author. But Tomkins himself afterwards said, "That he would not for a thousand worlds affirm any more, than that he heard Mr. Udal say, that he would not doubt, but set his name to the book, if he had indifferent judges." When Mr. Udal offered to produce his witnesses to prove this, the judge said, "That because the witnesses were against the queen's majesty, they could not be heard."

The confession of Henry Sharp of Northampton, was next read, who, upon his oath before the lord chamberlain,

had declared, "That he heard Mr. Penry say, that Mr. Udal was the author of the *Demonstration*."\*

This was all the evidence of the *fact*, upon which he was convicted, not a single living witness being produced in court. The poor man had, therefore, no opportunity to ask any questions, or refute the evidence. And what methods were used to extort these confessions, may be easily imagined from their non-appearance in court, and having testified their sorrow for what they had done. What man of common understanding, would hang his dog on such evidence as this?

To prove Mr. Udal guilty of sedition, and bring him within the statute, the counsel insisted, that his threatening the *bishops*, who were the queen's officers, was, by construction, threatening the queen herself. The prisoner desired liberty to explain the passage; when he insisted, that offence against the *bishops* was not *sedition* against the queen. But all that could be said, was set aside, and the judge gave it for law, even without allowing the two remaining points of the indictment to be examined, "That they who spake against the queen's government in causes ecclesiastical, or her ecclesiastical laws, proceedings, and officers, defamed the queen herself." Upon this the jury were directed to find him guilty of the *fact*, and the judges taking upon themselves the point of law, condemned him as a felon. Fuller even confesses, that the proof against him was not pregnant; for it was generally believed, that he wrote not the book, but only the preface.† His enemies might as well have condemned him without the formality of a trial. The statute was undoubtedly strained beyond its meaning, and evidently with a design to reach his life. The good man behaved himself with great modesty and discretion at the bar; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable persons, he submitted to the judgment of the court.

"The case of Mr. Udal seems singular," says Hume, "even in the arbitrary times in which he lived. He was thrown into prison on suspicion of having published a book against the bishops, and brought to his trial for this offence. It was pretended that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them, was to attack her, and was, therefore, felony by the statute. This was not

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 262.—State Tryals, vol. i. p. 147—152.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 222.



the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the *fact*, of his being the author of the book, without examining his intention, or the import of his words. In order to prove the fact, they did not produce a single witness to the court : they only read the testimony of two or three persons absent. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence, saying, it was not permitted against the crown. His refusing to swear that he was not the author of the book, was employed against him as the strongest proof of his guilt. Notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, the verdict of the jury was brought against him. For, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape.”\*

Mr. Udal was convicted at the summer assizes, 1590, but did not receive sentence till the Lent following. In the mean time, pardon was offered him, if he would sign the following recantation, dated February, 1591 :

“ I, John Udal, have been heretofore, by due course of  
 “ law, convicted of felony, for penning or setting forth a  
 “ certain book, called ‘ The Demonstration of Discipline ;’  
 “ wherein false, slanderous, and seditious matters are  
 “ contained against her majesty’s prerogative royal, her  
 “ crown and dignity, and against her laws and government,  
 “ ecclesiastical and temporal, by law established under her  
 “ highness, and tending to the erecting a new form of  
 “ government, contrary to her laws. All which points, I  
 “ do now, by the grace of God, perceive to be very  
 “ dangerous to the peace of this realm and church, seditious  
 “ in the commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the  
 “ queen’s most excellent majesty. So as thereby, now seeing  
 “ the grievousness of my offence, I do most humbly, on  
 “ my knees, before and in this presence, submit myself to  
 “ the mercy of her highness, being most sorry that I have  
 “ so deeply and worthily incurred her majesty’s indignation  
 “ against me ; promising, if it shall please God to move her  
 “ royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful,  
 “ convicted person, that I will, for ever hereafter, forsake all  
 “ undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself  
 “ dutifully and peaceably ; for I acknowledge her laws to be  
 “ both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every subject.”†

No arguments or threatenings of the judges could prevail upon Mr. Udal to sign the above recantation. He could

\* Hume’s Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 345, 346.

† Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 26, 27.—Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 45.

not, for the world, subscribe to that as *true*, which he knew to be *false*. He, therefore, resolved to suffer on the gallows, rather than be guilty of such prevarication and hypocrisy. But the day before sentence was to be passed upon him, he offered the following submission, drawn up by himself, dated February 19, 1591 :

“ Concerning the book whereof I was by due course of  
 “ law convicted, by referring myself to the trial of the law,  
 “ and that by the verdict of twelve men, I am found to be  
 “ the author of it, for which cause an humble submission is  
 “ worthily required and offered of me. Although I cannot  
 “ disavow the cause and substance of the doctrine debated  
 “ in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and (so  
 “ far as I can conceive of it) agreeable to the word of God ;  
 “ yet I confess, the manner of writing it is such, in some  
 “ parts, as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her  
 “ majesty’s indignation. Wherefore the trial of the law  
 “ imputing to me all such defaults as are in that book, and  
 “ laying the punishment of the same in most grievous  
 “ manner upon me ; as my most humble suit to her most  
 “ excellent majesty is, that her mercy and gracious pardon  
 “ may free me from the guilt and offence, which the said  
 “ trial of the law hath cast upon me, and further, of her  
 “ great clemency, to restore me to the comfort of my life  
 “ and liberty ; so do I promise, in all humble submission to  
 “ God and her majesty, to carry myself in the whole  
 “ course of my life, in such humble and dutiful obedience,  
 “ as shall besit a minister of the gospel and a dutiful  
 “ subject, fervently and continually praying for the good  
 “ preservation of her highness’s precious life and happy  
 “ government, to the honour of God, and comfort of her  
 “ loyal and dutiful subjects.”\*

Previous to this, Mr. Udal had often, and with great earnestness, petitioned his judges for their mediation with the queen.† In his letter to Puckering, dated November 11, 1590, he thus expressed himself:—“ I resolved to call to your remembrance my hard estate, which I pray you to accept as proceeding from him who wisheth as well to you as to his own soul. I need not offer to your lordship’s consideration of the miserable state I am in, being deprived of that living by which myself, my wife and children, should be supported ; and spending the little substance which God has given me, in this tedious state of imprisonment ;

\* Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 27.—State Tryals, vol. i. p. 152—155.

† Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 50—52.

and thus exposing both me and them to beggary and misery. I pray you call to mind, by what course this misery was brought upon me; and if you find, by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive the punishment from the sentence of upright justice, I pray you hasten the execution of the same: for it were better, in this case, for me to die than to live. But if it appear to your consciences, as I hope it will, that no malice against her majesty can possibly be in me, seeing I pray daily for her majesty's prosperity and happiness, both in soul and body, then I do humbly and heartily desire you to be a means that I may be released. In doing this, I shall not only forget that hard opinion conceived of your courses against me, but also pray heartily unto God to bury the same, with the rest of your sins, in the grave of his son, Jesus Christ." Mr. Udal wrote several other letters, expressed in most humble and dutiful language.\* But all these applications were to no purpose. The court would do nothing till he signed their submission; which, being directly contrary to the convictions of his conscience, he utterly refused.

At the close of the Lent assizes, Mr. Udal, being called to the bar, with the rest of the felons, and asked what he had to say, why judgment should not be given against him, according to the verdict, delivered a paper to the court, consisting of certain reasons; the principal of which were the following:

1. "Because the jury were directed only to find the *fact*, whether I was the author of the book; and were expressly freed by your lordship from inquiring into the *intent*, without which there is no felony.

2. "The men on the jury were not left to their own consciences, but were wrought upon, partly by *promises*, assuring them it should be no further danger to me, but tend to my good; and partly by *fear*, as appears from the grief some of them have manifested ever since.

3. "The statute, in the true meaning of it, is thought not to reach my case, there being nothing spoken in the book concerning her majesty's person, but in *duty* and *honour*; I beseech you, therefore, to consider, whether drawing it from her royal person to the bishops, as being part of her body politic, be not a violent depraving and wresting of the statute.

4. "But if the statute be taken as it is urged, the felony must consist in the *malicious intent*; wherein I appeal first

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 28—30.



to God, and then to all men who have known the course of my life, and to your lordships' own consciences, whether you can find me guilty of any act, in all my life, that savoured of any malice or malicious intent against her majesty. And if your consciences clear me before God, I hope you will not proceed to judgment.

5. "By the laws of God, and, I trust also, by the laws of the land, the witnesses ought to have been produced in open court before me; but they were not, nor any thing else, only certain papers and reports of depositions. This kind of evidence is not allowed in the case of lands, and, therefore, it ought much less to be allowed in the case of life.

6. "None of the depositions directly prove me to be the author of the book in question; and the principal witness is so grieved for what he has done, that he is ashamed to come where he is known.

7. "Supposing I were the author of the book, let it be remembered that the said book, for substance, contains nothing but what is taught and believed by the best reformed churches in Europe; so that in condemning me, you condemn all such nations and churches as hold the same doctrine. If the punishment be for the *manner* of writing, this may be thought by some worthy of an *admonition*, or *fine*, or *some short imprisonment*; but *death* for an error of such a kind, cannot but be extreme cruelty, against one who has endeavoured to shew himself a dutiful subject, and a faithful minister of the gospel.

"If all this prevail not," says Mr. Udal, "yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say, as Jeremiah once said, in a case not much unlike mine, 'Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land.' As the blood of *Abel*, so the blood of *Udal*, will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land will require it at the hands of all who shall be found guilty of it."\*

All that he could say proved unavailable. His reasons were rejected; and his judges remained inflexible, unless he would sign the recantation drawn up for him; which his conscience not suffering him to do, sentence of death was passed upon him February 20th, and execution openly awarded. When he received the unjust and cruel sentence,

he was not in the least dismayed, but with great seriousness, said, "God's will be done."\* The next morning, the judges, by direction from court, gave private orders to put off his execution, until her majesty's pleasure was further known. All this was done by the particular appointment of Whitgift. "For Dr. Bancroft, by his order, wrote to Puckering, signifying, that, if Udal's submission did not satisfy him, it was the archbishop's pleasure that he should proceed to judgment, and command his execution; but afterwards defer the same, till her majesty's pleasure be consulted."† In the mean time, the Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the recantation; which he still peremptorily refused. And, because the queen had been misinformed of his opinions, Mr. Udal, by the motion of Sir Walter Rawleigh, who highly esteemed him, sent her majesty a short confession of his faith, as follows:

"I believe, and have often preached," says he, "that the church of England is a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being truly dispensed; for which reason, I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church. Therefore, I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists.—I do allow the articles of religion, as far as they contain the doctrine of faith and sacraments, according to law.—I believe the queen's majesty hath, and ought to have, supreme authority over all persons, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil. And if the prince command any thing contrary to the word of God, it is not lawful for subjects to rebel or resist, but, with patience and humility, to bear the punishment laid upon them.—I believe the church, rightly reformed, ought to be governed by ministers, assisted by elders, as in the foreign reformed churches.—I believe the censures of the church ought merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any subject, much less any prince, in liberty of body, goods, dominion, or any earthly privilege: nor do I believe that a christian prince ought otherwise to be subject to church censures, than our gracious queen professes herself to be by the preaching of

\* State Tryals, vol. i. p. 157.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 105.—Notwithstanding these barbarous proceedings, Whitgift is styled a pious and a prudent prelate, and a man not given to boisterous things, but one just and fair in all his ways.—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 80.



the word and the administration of the sacraments. My desire is, that her majesty may be truly informed of every thing I hold, that I may obtain her gracious favour; without which, I do not wish to live.”\*

This declaration of his faith, Mr. Udal sent to Sir Walter Rawleigh, requesting him to present it to her majesty. In the letter enclosing this declaration, dated February 22, 1591, he earnestly solicits this honourable person to be a means with the queen in procuring his pardon, or changing his sentence into banishment, that the land might not be charged with his blood. In this letter he says, “I beseech you to be a means of appeasing her majesty’s indignation, conceived against me from false accusation. For God is my witness, that no earthly thing was ever so dear to me, as to honour her majesty, and to draw her subjects to do the same: and of the truth of this, I trust, my very adversaries will be witnesses when I am dead.”†

King James of Scotland wrote, also, to the queen, in behalf of Mr. Udal, most earnestly requesting, that, for the sake of *his* intercession, the good man might be spared, promising the same favour to her majesty in any matter she might recommend to his attention. This letter, dated June 12, 1591, is still preserved.‡ The Turkey merchants, about the same time, offered to send him as chaplain to one of their factories abroad, if he might have his life and liberty; to which Mr. Udal consented, as appears from his letter to the lord treasurer. He says, “My case is lamentable, having now been above three years in durance, which makes me humbly desire your lordship’s favour, that I may be released from my imprisonment, the Turkey merchants having my consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to remain two years with their factories, if my liberty can be obtained.” The archbishop, it is said, yielded to this petition; the keeper promised to further it; and the Earl of Essex had a draught of his pardon ready prepared, with this condition, that he should never return without the queen’s license. But her majesty never signed it; and the Turkey ships departing without him, poor unhappy Udal died a few months after, in the Marshalsea, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief, towards the close of the year 1592.§

Fuller denominates Mr. Udal a learned man, blameless in

\* Strype’s Whitgift, p. 375, 376.—Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 54.

† Strype’s Whitgift, p. 376.

‡ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 203, 204.

§ Strype’s Whitgift, p. 377.

his life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than *painful* in preaching.\* This is certainly a very high character from a zealous conformist; and what a pity it was, that so excellent a minister of Christ should meet with such cruel treatment! His remains were decently interred in the church-yard of St. George's in Southwark, near to the grave of the famous Bishop Bonner. His funeral was attended by great numbers of the London ministers, who, having visited him in prison, now wept over the mortal remains of that man, whose faith and patience were long and severely tried, and who died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the government under which he suffered.

Upon King James's accession to the crown of England, it is said, the first person he inquired after when he came into this country, was Mr. Udal; and when he found that he was dead, he replied, "By my soul then the greatest scholar in Europe is dead."†

His WORKS.—1. The Key of the Holy Tongue, with a short Dictionary, and a Praxis on certain Psalms, 1593.—2. A Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.—3. Various Sermons.—4. The State of the Church of England laid open in a Conference between Diotrephes a Bishop, Tertullus a Papist, Demetrius an Usurer, Pandochus an Inn-keeper, and Paul a Preacher of the Word of God.‡

JOHN GREENWOOD was a most distinguished puritan, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. The earliest account of him we meet with, is, that he was for some time chaplain to Lord Rich; but afterwards renounced his episcopal orders, and became a rigid Brownist. The congregation of Brownists about London, becoming pretty numerous, formed themselves into a church, Mr. Greenwood being chosen doctor or teacher, and Mr. Francis Johnson pastor, by the sufferage of the brotherhood.§ This, according to our historians, appears to have been about the year 1592, or 1593; though it was probably a few years earlier.||

Upon Mr. Greenwood's espousing the opinions of the

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 222, 223.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 2060. Edit. 1747.

‡ The first of these articles, Mr. Udal wrote in prison, and he is only supposed to be the author of the last.—*Parte of a Register*, p. 333.

§ For a circumstantial account of this, see Art. Francis Johnson,

|| Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 124. iv. p. 175.

Brownists, he became intimately acquainted with Mr. Henry Barrow, a lawyer, and a zealous Brownist. Their history is so closely interwoven, that we shall consider them in connexion. They were very contracted in their principles, and fellow-sufferers in the same cause: yet, with the allowance of some mistaken notions, they were eminently good men, and very zealous christians. In November, 1586, having been some time confined in prison, they were brought before the high commission, for holding and propagating schismatical and seditious opinions, as they are called; the most remarkable of which were the following:—"That the church of England is no true church.—That its worship is downright idolatry.—That the church admits unsanctified persons to her communion.—That the conformable ministers have no lawful calling.—That the government of the church is ungodly.—That no bishop, or preacher in the church, preacheth sincerely and truly.—That the people of every parish ought to choose their own bishop.—That every elder, though he be no doctor or pastor, is a bishop.—That all the precise, (meaning those puritans who were not Brownists,) who refuse the ceremonies of the church, strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel, and are hypocrites.—That all who make or expound any printed or written catechisms, are idle shepherds.—That the children of ungodly parents ought not to be baptized.—And that to use set forms of prayer is blasphemous."\* As we have this catalogue of schismatical and seditious opinions, from those who would not be at all disposed to favour them, we conclude that those positions, with their endeavouring to propagate them, were the worst crimes with which they could be charged. Some of their sentiments were, undoubtedly, very erroneous and uncharitable; but others were true and important, shewing their views of religious liberty.

When Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow appeared before the high commission, they underwent very close examinations; and it was from these examinations their dangerous doctrines were collected. The examination of Mr. Barrow, now before me, is an article so little known, yet so curious, that I have given it, though at considerable length, in the following note.† It appears that Mr. Greenwood was

\* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 322, 323.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 638.

† November 19, 1586, Mr. Barrow appeared at Lambeth, before Archbishop Whitgift, his archdeacon, and Dr. Cosins. On that day, being the Lord's day, he went to visit Mr. Greenwood, and the other brethren, imprisoned in the Clink; where he had no sooner arrived than



imprisoned before Mr. Barrow; and that, in the month of November, 1586, he was confined in the Clink. How long he had been in a state of imprisonment, previous to that period, it is now difficult to ascertain. We are told,

Mr. Shepherd, the keeper, locked him up in the prison, saying he had orders from the archbishop so to do. When Mr. Barrow demanded a sight of his warrant, he said he should detain him; and if he were wronged, he might bring an action against him. Upon this, the keeper immediately went to the archbishop at Lambeth, and presently returned with two pursuivants. Mr. Barrow was then put into a boat, and carried to Lambeth. On their way, Watson, one of the pursuivants, pulled out a paper from the high commission court at Lambeth, signifying to Mr. Barrow, that he had a long time sought him. "I told him," says Mr. Barrow, "his pains deserved thanks neither of God nor me. I refused his letter, and would not read it, being under the arrest of the keeper of the Clink, who then sat by me." Upon their arrival at the archbishop's palace, after Watson had informed his master of what had passed in the boat, Mr. Barrow was brought into his presence, when the following conference took place.

Archbishop. Is your name Barrow?

Barrow. Yes.

A. It is told me, that you refuse to receive or obey our letter. Know you what you do? It is from the high commissioners, and this man is a pursuivant.

B. I refused to receive or obey that letter, at that time.

A. Why so?

B. Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned without warrant, and against law; it was, therefore, too late to bring the letter.

A. Why, may not a counsellor commit to prison by his bare commandment?

B. That is not the question, what a counsellor may do; but whether this man (pointing to the keeper of the Clink) may do it, without warrant, by the law of the land.

A. Know you the law of the land?

B. Very little. Yet I was of Gray's-inn, some years. (Here Whitgift and the two Doctors derided his unskillfulness in the law, when Mr. Barrow said,) Let this pass. I look for little help, by law, against you. I pray you, why have you imprisoned me, and sent for me in this manner?

A. That shall you know upon your oath. Will you swear?

B. I hold it lawful to swear, if it be done with due order and circumstances.

A. Reach a book, and hold it him.

B. What shall I do with it?

A. Lay your hand upon it, man.

B. For what purpose?

A. To swear.

B. I use to swear by no books.

A. You shall not swear by the book, but by God only.

B. So I purpose, when I swear.

Cosins. Did you never take an oath at the assize, before the judges?

B. No.

C. Would you there refuse to lay your hand on a book, and swear?

B. Yes.

C. Then your testimony would not be taken.

A. Why, man, the book is no part of the oath: it is but a ceremony.

B. A needless and wicked ceremony.

A. Why, know you what you say? Know you what book it is? It is the Bible.

indeed, that pursuivants entered, at a late hour of the night, into an honest citizen's house, in Ludgate-hill; and having used their own pleasure, in searching all places, boxes, chests, &c. in the house, they apprehended, even

B. I will swear by no Bible.

C. Schismatics are always clamorous. It is a perpetual note to know them by.

A. Dr. Cosins saith true. Such were the Donatists of old. And such art thou, and all other schismatics, such as thou art.

B. Say your pleasure. God forgive you. I am neither schismatic, nor clamorous. I only answer your demands. If you will, I will be silent.

A. Well, will you lay your hand upon the Bible, and take an oath?

B. I use to join no creatures to the name of God, in an oath.

A. Neither shall you. This is only a custom commanded by law.

B. The law ought not to command a wicked custom.

A. Why, is it not lawful to lay your hand on a book?

B. Yes, but not in an oath.

A. Will you lay your hand in my hand and swear?

B. No.

A. Will you lay your hand on the table and swear.

B. No.

A. Will you hold up your hands towards heaven and swear?

B. That is not amiss. But I will use my liberty.

A. Why, you hold it lawful to lay your hand on the table and swear.

B. Yes, if it be not commanded and made necessary.

A. Why, the book is the same. It is no part of the oath, but a thing indifferent.

B. If it be not *of the oath*, why do you so peremptorily enjoin it? And if it be *indifferent*, as you say it is, then I do well in not using it.

A. Nay, you do not well in refusing it. For therein you shew yourself disobedient to the higher powers, set over you by God.

B. You have even now said it is a thing indifferent. If it be, there is no power that can bring my liberty into bondage.

A. Where find you that?

B. In 1 Corinthians.—Here a Testament was given him, but the archbishop and the others so interrupted him, that he could not find the place.

A. Your divinity is like your law.

B. The word of God is not the worse for my ill memory.

A. You speak not as you think, for you are proud.

B. I have small cause to be proud of my memory: you see the fault of it. But the apostle saith it. And you have no cause to condemn my memory, seeing you have all utterly forgotten this saying, "All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any."

A. I would like it well, if you cited your place in Greek or Latin.

B. Why, you understand English. Is not the word of God in English?

A. Were you of Cambridge?

B. Yes, I knew you there.

A. Have you read Calvin, Beza, and others?

B. I have read more than enough. Yet, I know not why I am imprisoned.

A. It is reported, that you come not to church, are disobedient to her majesty, and say there is no true church in England. What say you? have you not at any time said this?

B. These are reports. When you have produced your testimony, I will answer.

A. But I will better believe you upon your oath, than others. How say you? will you answer?



without warrant, Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Francis Johnson, whom they carried, between one and two o'clock at night, to the Compter in Wood-street. Mr. Edward Boys, the owner of the house, remained a prisoner till the next day;

B. I will know what I swear to, before I swear.

A. Swear first; and then, if any thing unlawfully be demanded, you shall not answer.

B. I have not learned so to swear. I will first know and consider of the matter, before I take an oath.—Here the archbishop commanded Dr. Cosins to record, “That Mr. Barrow refused to swear upon a book.”

B. Yes, and set down that I will not answer thus at random; but I will first know and consider of the things I swear to, whether they require an oath.

A. Well, when were you at church?

B. That is nothing to you.

A. You are a schismatic, a recusant, and a seditious person.

B. Say what you will of me, I freely forgive you.

A. I care not for your forgiveness.

B. But if you offend me, you ought to seek it, whilst you are in the way with me.

A. When were you at church?

B. I have answered that already: it belongeth not to you.

A. Are you indicted?

B. I am.

A. It belongeth to us, and I will not only meddle with you, but arraign you before me as an *heretic*.

B. You shall do no more than God will. Err I may; but an heretic I will never be.

A. Will you hereafter come to church?

B. Future things are in the Lord's hands. If I do not, you have a law.

A. Have you spoken this of the church of England?

B. When you have produced your witness, I will answer.

A. Upon your oath, I will believe you.

B. But I will not accuse myself.

A. You are lawless.

B. I had rather you produced your witness.

A. What occupation are you of?

B. I am a Christian.

A. So are we all.

B. I deny that.

A. Are you a minister?

B. No.

A. Are you a schoolmaster?

B. No.

A. Then what trade are you?

B. In your letter, you know my trade in the subscription.

A. You are then a gentleman.

B. After the manner of our country, a gentleman.

A. Do you serve any man?

B. No, I am God's freeman.

A. Have you any lands?

B. No, nor fees.

A. How do you live?

B. By God's goodness, and my friend's.

A. Where dwelleth he, in Norfolk?

B. Yes.

A. Where dwell you, in London?

when, by the archbishop and others, they were committed close prisoners, two of them to the Clink, and one to the Fleet. It does not appear, however, whether this was Mr. Greenwood's first or second imprisonment. In the year

B. No.

A. Can you find sufficient security for your good behaviour?

B. Yes, as sufficient as you can take.

A. You cannot have the queen.

B. Neither can you take her: she is the judge of the law. Yet, for my good behaviour, I suppose, I could get her word.

A. Doth she then know you?

B. I know her.

A. Else, were it a pity of your life.

B. Not so.

A. Can you have any of those who came with you, to be bound for you?

B. I think I can.

A. Do you know them?

B. I know one of them.

A. What is he?

B. A gentleman of Gray's-inn.

A. What do you call him?

B. Lacy.

A. Do you know what bond you are to enter into? You are to be bound to frequent our churches.

B. I understood you of my good behaviour.

A. That is contained in it, and you had forfeited your bond at first.

B. Now that I know your mind, I will enter into no such bond.

A. Will you enter your bond to appear at our court on Tuesday next; and so on Thursday, if you be not called; and be bound not to depart, until you be dismissed by order of our court?

B. No.

A. Then I will send you to prison.

B. You shall not touch one hair of my head, without the will of my heavenly Father.

A. Nay, I will do this to rectify you.

B. Consider what you do. You shall one day answer for it.

A. You will not swear, nor enter a bond for your appearance.

B. I will put in bond for my bail in the prison, and for my true imprisonment.

A. Nay, that will not serve the turn. Mr. Doctor, enter these things. I will send some to confer with you.

B. That were more requisite before my imprisonment.

Mr. Barrow was then delivered to the pursuivant, who immediately carried him to the Gatehouse, where he remained for some time, not knowing the cause of his imprisonment. November 27th, he appeared a second time, before the high commission at Lambeth; upon which, the archbishop, with a black and an angry countenance, beholding him, inquired whether he would then swear, which introduced the following conference:

B. I would not refuse to swear on a proper occasion,

A. Will you now swear?

B. I must first know to what.

A. So you shall afterwards.

B. I will not swear unless I know before.

A. Well, I will thus far satisfy your humour.

Here the archbishop pulled out a paper, containing many things confusedly put together, according to the malicious humour of his accuser: As, "That he denied God to have a true church in England.—That the

1592, Mr. Greenwood and his companion Mr. Barrow, had been confined at least four or five years in *close* prison, with miserable usage.\*

Mr. Greenwood, as well as Mr. Barrow, underwent a

worship of the established church is idolatry.—That the ministry is idolatrous and antichristian.—That the archbishop, and all the bishops in the land, are antichrists.—That all the ministers in the land are thieves, murderers, hirelings, and hypocrites.—That Mr. Wigginton and Mr. Cartwright strain out a gnat and swallow a camel.—That he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, &c. and saith, that all catechisms are idolatrous, and not to be used."

Bishop of London. How say you, Mr. Dean of Paul's, here is for you. You have written a catechism.

A. This fellow deals indifferently, and makes us all alike. Thus far I have satisfied you. Now you know what you shall swear to. How say you? will you now swear?

Bp. My lord's grace doth shew this favour to many.

A. Fetch a book.

B. It is needless.

A. Why, will you not swear now?

B. An oath is a matter of great importance, and requireth great consideration. But I will answer you truly. Much of the matter in this bill is true. But the form is false.

A. Go to, sirrah, answer directly. Will you swear? Reach him a book.

B. There is more cause to swear mine accuser. I will not swear.

A. Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here. Away with him. Clap him up *close, close*: let no man come to him. I will make him tell another tale, ere I have done with him.

Mr. Barrow was then immediately carried again to prison, where he remained in close confinement till March 24th following; when he was brought before the two Lord Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Winchester, and many others. Upon his appearance, he was commanded to lay his hand upon the Bible, which led to the following conversation:

B. For what end must I do this?

A. To swear.

B. I have not learned to swear by any creatures.

A. This is the word of God, the Bible.

B. The book is not the eternal God himself, by whom only I must swear, and not by any books or bibles.

A. So you shall swear by God.

B. To what purpose then is the book urged? I may swear by nothing besides him, and by nothing with him.

Bishop of Winchester. How prove you that?

B. It is so commanded in the book of the law, Deut. vi. 10., and so expounded by several of the prophets, by Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles.

A. Well, will you swear that you will answer nothing but the truth, and the whole truth, to such interrogatories as we shall demand of you?

B. I will know the matter, before I either swear or answer.

A. Set down, that he will not swear.

L. C. Justice. You shall only swear to answer to the truth. If any unlawful thing be demanded of you, you need not answer.

B. My lord, every truth requireth not an oath. An oath requireth



close examination. He appeared at London palace, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the two Lord Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and others. Upon his

great regard and reverence, and being designed for confirmation, ought to be the end of all strife. My lord, if I should err, and deliver it upon my oath for truth, it would be a double sin. And if I should either not know, not remember, or not deliver the whole truth, I should, by such a rash oath, be forsworn. But, by God's grace, I will answer nothing but the truth.

A. A christian man's word ought to be as true as his oath. We will then proceed with you without your oath. What say you to this question? Is it lawful to say the *Pater-noster* publicly, as a prayer in the church, or privately, or not?

B. I know not what you mean by your *Pater-noster*, unless you peradventure mean the form of prayer which our Saviour taught his disciples, commonly called the Lord's prayer.

A. So I mean.

The following articles of inquiry were then proposed to Mr. Barrow, to which he gave the answers annexed.

1. May the Lord's prayer be used in the church?

In my opinion it is rather a summary than an enjoined form; and not finding it used by the apostles, I think it may not be constantly used.

2. May liturgies or forms of prayer be used in the church?

In the word of God, I find no authority given to any man to impose them upon the church; and it is, therefore, high presumption to impose them.

3. Is the Common Prayer idolatrous, superstitious, and popish?

In my opinion, it is.

4. Are the sacraments of the church of England true sacraments?

As they are publicly administered, they are not true sacraments.

5. Are the laws and government of the church of England unlawful and antichristian?

As the decrees and canons of the church are so numerous, I cannot judge of all; but many of them, and the ecclesiastical courts and governors, are unlawful and antichristian.

6. Are such as have been baptized in the church of England rightly baptized? or should they be baptized again?

They are not baptized according to the institution of Christ; yet they may not need it again.

7. Is the church of England the true church of Christ?

As it is now formed, it is not; yet there are many excellent christians in it.

8. Is the queen supreme governor of the church, and may she make laws for it?

The queen is supreme governor of the whole land, and over the church, bodies and goods; but may not make any other laws for the church of Christ, than he hath left in his word.

9. Is it lawful for the prince to alter the judicial law of Moses?

I cannot see it lawful for any one to alter the least part of that law, without doing injury to the moral law, and opposing the will of God.

10. May a private person reform the church, if the prince neglect it?

No private persons may reform the state, but they ought to abstain from all unlawful things commanded by the prince.

11. Ought every particular church of Christ to have a presbytery?

The government of the church of Christ belongeth not to the ungodly, but every particular church ought to have an eldership.

After giving these answers, he was sent back to prison, where he was closely confined, no one being allowed to see him, or speak to him. And



appearance, certain interrogatories were put to him, as follows :

Q. What is your name ?

G. John Greenwood.

though he earnestly requested a copy of his answers, the favour could not be obtained.

June 18, 1587, Mr. Barrow was again brought up, and underwent another examination, before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, the Bishop of London, Justice Young, Dr. Some, and others. The Lord Treasurer introduced his examination as follows :

Treasurer. Why are you in prison, Barrow ?

B. I am in prison, my lord, upon the statute made for recusants.

T. Why will you not come to church ?

B. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

T. I see thou art a fantastical fellow. But why not come to our churches ?

B. My lord, the causes are great and many : as,—1. Because all the wicked in the land are received unto the communion.—2. You have a false and an antichristian ministry set over your church.—3. You do not worship God aright, but in an idolatrous and a superstitious manner.—And, 4. Your church is not governed by the Testament of Christ, but by the Romish courts and canons.

T. Here is matter enough, indeed. I perceive thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion.

Chancellor. I never heard such stuff in all my life.

London. Is the worship of the church idolatrous ?

B. In the Book of Common Prayer, there is little else : as, the saints'-days, eves, fasts, idol-feasts, &c.

London. Stay there. Is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the saints in the church ?

B. Not after this manner. It is idolatry.

London. How prove you that ?

B. By the first commandment.

London. Why, that is, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me." What of that ?

B. The words are, "Thou shalt have no other Gods *before my face*." We are, therefore, forbidden to give any part of God's worship to any creature.

London. Why, neither do we.

B. Yes, you celebrate a day, and sanctify an eve, and call them by the names of saints ; and thus you make a feast, and devise a worship unto them.

T. Why, may we not call the day by their names ? Is not this in our liberty ?

B. No, my lord.

T. How do you prove that ?

B. In the beginning of the Bible, it is written, that God himself named all the days, the first, the second, &c.

T. Then we may not call them Sunday, Monday, &c.

B. We are otherwise taught to call them, in the word of God.

T. Why, thou thyself callest Sunday, *the Lord's day*.

B. And so the Holy Ghost calleth it, in the first of Revelation.

London. We have nothing in our saints'-days, but what is taken forth of the scriptures.

B. In that, you say true ; for you find no saints'-days in the scriptures.

London. We find their histories and deeds in the scripture.

B. But not their days and festivals.

Buckhurst. He is a proud spirit.

Lay your hand upon the book. You must take an oath.

G. I will swear by the name of God, if there be any need; but not by, or upon, any book.

T. He has a hot brain. How do you like the collects, and epistles and gospels, for the saints'-days, as they are in the Book of Common Prayer?

B. I dislike all. We ought not so to use prayers and scriptures.

Lond. May we not make commemoration of the saints' lives in the church?

B. Not after your manner, by giving peculiar days, eves, fasts, feasts, and worship, unto them.

T. What is there idolatrous in this?

B. It is all idolatrous. We ought not so to use the scriptures.

Lond. What not in commemoration of the saints?

B. As I have said, not after your manner.

T. What evil is there in it?

B. It is all evil, my lord. For, by thus abusing the scripture, we make it an idol. Things in themselves good, thus become evil. As, in the mass-book, whence this stuff is taken, there are sundry good collects and places of scripture, which superstitious abuse renders abominable.

Buck. He is out of his wits.

B. No, my lord, I speak the words of truth and soberness, as I could make appear, if I might be suffered.

T. Here we pray, that our lives may be such as theirs were, void of covetousness.

B. So we ought to do. Yet not to use the scriptures in this manner to days and times, nor to be so restrained or stinted in our prayers, as to be tied to this form of words, time, place, manner, kneeling, standing, &c.

Buck. This fellow delighteth to hear himself talk.

A. He is a sower of errors; and, therefore, I committed him.

B. You, indeed, committed me half a year close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and I never until now understood the cause, neither do I yet know what errors they are. Shew them, therefore, I pray you.

Buck. He has a presumptuous spirit.

B. My lord, all spirits must be tried and judged by the word of God. But if I err, my lord, it is meet I should be shewn wherein.

Chan. There must be stricter laws made for such fellows.

B. Would to God there were, my lord, our journey would then be the shorter.

T. You complained to us of injustice; wherein have you received wrong?

B. By being imprisoned, my lord, without due trial.

T. You said you were condemned upon the statute.

B. Unjustly, my lord. That statute was not made for us.

T. There must be stricter laws made for you.

B. O, my lord! speak more comfortably. We have sorrows enow.

T. Indeed, thou lookest as if thou hadst a troubled conscience.

B. No, my lord, I praise God for it. But it is an awful thing, that the sword of our prince should thus be drawn against her faithful subjects.

T. The queen's sword is not yet drawn against Mr. Barrow and his fellow-prisoners.

B. We have been long confined in close prison.

T. Have you not had a conference?

Lond. Several have been with them, whom they mocked.

B. We have mocked no man. Miserable physicians are you all. We desired a public conference, that all might know our opinions, and wherein we err.

A. You shall have no such conference, you have published too much already; and, therefore, I committed you close prisoners.

Q. We will examine you then without an oath. Are you a minister?

G. I was one, according to your orders.

Q. Who degraded you?

B. But contrary to the law.

T. On such occasions it may be done by law. Have you any learning?

B. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant. I have no learning to boast of. But this I know, that you are void of all true learning and godliness.

Buck. See the spirit of this man.

A. I have matter to call you before me as an *heretic*.

B. That shall you never do. You know my former judgment in that matter. Err I may; but heretic, by the grace of God, I will never be.

Buck. That is well said.

T. Do you not hold, that it is unlawful to enact a law for ministers to live by tithes, and that the people be required to pay them?

B. My lord, such laws are abrogated and unlawful.

T. Thou wouldst have the minister to live upon something. What should he live of?

B. Wholly of alms, as Christ hath ordained, and as he and his apostles lived.

T. How if the people will not give?

B. Such are not the people of God.

T. But what shall the ministers do, in the mean time?

B. Not stand as ministers to such, neither receive the goods of the profane.

T. Where canst thou shew me, from scripture, that ministers ought not to live by tithes?

B. Heb. vii. 12., Gal. vi. 6. In the one place tithes are abrogated; in the other, another kind of provision is made for ministers. The words of the former text are these: "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law;" and you cannot deny, that tithes were a part of that law: as Numb. xviii.

T. Wouldst thou have the minister then to have all my goods?

B. No, my lord. But I would have you not withhold your goods from helping him: neither rich nor poor are exempted from this duty.

T. Ministers are not now called priests.

B. If they receive tithes, they are priests. They are called priests in the law.

Lond. What is a presbyter, I pray thee?

B. An elder.

Lond. What in age only?

B. No. Timothy was a young man.

Lond. Presbyter is Latin for priest.

B. It is no Latin word; but is derived from the Greek, and signifieth the same as the Greek word, which is elder.

Lond. What then dost thou make a priest?

B. One that offereth sacrifices; for so it is always used in the law.

Chan. Do you not know those two men? pointing at the bishop and archbishop.

B. Yes, my lord, I have cause to know them.

Chan. Is not this the Bishop of London?

B. I know him for no bishop, my lord.

Chan. What is he then?

B. His name is Aylmer, my lord. The Lord pardon my fault, that I did not lay him open as a wolf, a bloody persecutor, and an apostate.

Chan. What is that man, pointing to the archbishop?

B. He is a monster; a miserable compound; I know not what to make of him. He is neither ecclesiastical nor civil, but that second beast spoken of in Revelation.



G. I degraded myself, through God's mercy, by repentance. (Meaning when he renounced his episcopal orders, and separated from the established church.)

Q. Is it lawful to use the Lord's prayer, publicly or privately, as a prayer?

G. It is a doctrine by which to direct all our prayers; but, for certain reasons, no man can use it as a public or private prayer.

Q. Is it lawful, or not? I will hear no prattling.

G. From any thing I can see in scripture, it is not lawful. There is no command to say the very words; and Christ and his apostles prayed in other words, according to their necessities.

Q. Is it lawful to use any stinted forms of prayer, in public or private?

G. They are apocrypha, and may not be used in public assemblies. The word, and the graces of the spirit of God, are only to be used there.

Q. Answer directly. Is it lawful to use them publicly or privately?

G. Paul saith, "The spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the spirit maketh intercession for us."

Q. What say you? Answer directly.

G. It does not appear lawful to use stinted prayers, invented by men, either publicly or privately, from any thing I can see in the scriptures.

Q. What say you then of the Book of Common Prayer? Is it superstitious, popish, and idolatrous?

G. I beseech you, that I may not be urged by your law. I have long been a close prisoner, and, therefore, desire you will shew me wherefore I am treated thus, and not entangle me by your law.

Q. Is it not your law, as well as ours? It is the queen's law. You are a good subject.

G. I am a true and obedient subject. But I thought we were reasoning about your popish canons.

T. Where is the place? Shew it.

When Mr. Barrow turned to Rev. xiii., with a view to shew the treasurer, the archbishop arose, and in anger gnashing his teeth, he said, "Will you suffer him, my lords?" Then by the wardens, Mr. B. was immediately plucked from off his knees, and carried away. As he departed, he desired of the treasurer, that, during his confinement in prison, he might enjoy the liberty of the air, but received no answer. He was, therefore, carried to prison, and closely confined for several years, and met with the most cruel usage.—*Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry*, p. 3—21.

Q. Is not the Common Prayer Book established by the queen's laws?

L. C. Justice. Tell us what you think of the Book of Common Prayer: you shall have liberty to call back what you will.

G. If it were in a free conference, as we have often desired, I would do it.

Bishop of Winchester. Have you not used these words a year ago, "It is popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?"

G. Yes, I think I have. For it was taken out of the pope's portuis.

Q. Why would you not answer thus before?

G. Because I see you go about to bring me within the compass of your law, by making me accuse myself.

J. Anderson. What do you say of it now?

G. That there are many errors in it; and the form of it is disagreeable to the scriptures.

A. Is it *contrary* to the scriptures?

G. It must needs be contrary, if it be disagreeable.

Winch. Do you hold it to be popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?

G. I have told you what I think of it. I hold it is full of errors, and the form of it disagreeable to the scriptures.

Q. What say you of marriage? Did you not marry one Boman and his wife in the Fleet?

G. No. Neither is marriage any part of the minister's office.

Q. Who used prayer?

G. I think, that I used prayer, at that time.

Q. Who joined their hands together?

G. I know no such thing. They publicly acknowledged their consent before the assembly.

Stanhope. I will make them do penance for it.

G. There are others who have more need to shew open repentance than they.

Winch. They make such marriages under a hedge. It hath been an order long received, to marry by a minister.

G. There were many faithful witnesses of their mutual consent. And if it were not lawful, we have many ancient fathers, who, by your judgment, did amiss.

Q. What say you of the church of England? Is it a true established church of God?

G. The whole commonwealth is not a church.

Ander. But do you know any true established church in the land?

G. If I did, I would not accuse it unto you.

Q. But what say you? is not the whole land, as now ordered, a true established church?

Q. No, not as the assemblies generally are. If it please you, I will shew you the reasons.

Jus. No, you shall have enough to shew hereafter. It is not to be stood upon now.

Q. What do you say of the church of England, as it is governed by bishops? Is it antichristian?

G. According to the bishops, and laws it is now governed by, it is not according to the scriptures.

Winch. Thou hast the scriptures often in thy mouth. Is it antichristian?

G. Yes, I hold it is contrary to Christ's word.

Q. What say you then of the sacraments? Are they true sacraments?

G. No. They are not rightly administered, according to the institution of Christ, nor have they the promise of grace; because you keep not the covenant.

Q. Speak plainly. Are they true sacraments, or not?

G. No. For if you have no true church, you can have no true sacraments.

Q. How say you, are we baptized?

G. You have the outward sign, which is washing; but no true sacrament.

Q. How can that be?

G. Very well.\*

Q. Is it lawful baptism?

G. Yes.

Q. Need we then be baptized again?

G. No.

Q. Should we be baptized at all?

G. Yes. For if we condemn it, we deny the possession of grace.

Q. Do you hold it lawful to baptize children?

G. I am no anabaptist, I thank God.

Q. How far do you differ from them?

G. As far as truth is from error.

Q. You have a boy unbaptized. How old is he?

G. A year and a half.

Q. What is his name?

G. Abel.

Q. Who gave him that name?

\* Here Mr. Greenwood attempted to assign reasons for what he said, but was not suffered to proceed.



G. Myself, being father.

Q. Why hath he not been baptized?

G. Because I have been in prison, and cannot tell where to go to a reformed church, where I might have him baptized according to God's ordinance.

Q. Will you go to church, to St. Bridges?

G. I know of no such church.

Q. Will you go to St. Paul's?

G. No.

Q. Do you not hold a parish to be the church?

G. If all the people were faithful, having God's law and ordinances practised among them, I do.

Q. Do you then hold, that the parish doth make it no church.

G. No. But the profession which the people make.

Q. Do you hold that the church ought to be governed by a presbytery?

G. Yes, every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbytery which Christ hath appointed.

Q. What are those officers?

G. A pastor, teacher, and elder.

Q. And must the church be governed by no other officers?

G. No, by no others than Christ hath appointed.

Q. May this people and presbytery reform such things as are amiss, without the prince?

G. They ought to practise God's laws, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Q. What if the prince *forbid* them?

G. They must, nevertheless, do that which God *commandeth*.

Q. If the prince offend, may the presbytery excommunicate him?

G. The whole church may excommunicate any member of that church, if the party continue obstinate in open transgression.

Q. May the prince be excommunicated?

G. There is no exception of persons; and I doubt not that her majesty would be ruled by the word. For it is not the *men*, but the *word of God*, that bindeth and looseth.

Q. May the prince then make laws for the government of the church?

G. The scripture hath set down sufficient laws for the

worship of God, and the government of the church; so that no man may add unto it, nor diminish from it.

Q. What say you of the prince's supremacy? Is her majesty supreme head of the church, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical, as civil?

G. She is supreme magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil, and defend the good.

Q. Is she over *all causes*?

G. No. Christ is the only head of his church; and his laws may no man alter.

Q. But the pope giveth this to princes, doth he not?

G. No, he doth not. He setteth himself above princes, and exempteth his priesthood from the magistrate's sword.

Q. What say you of the oath of supremacy? Do you approve of it?

G. If these ecclesiastical orders mean such as are agreeable to the scriptures, I do. For I deny all foreign power.

Q. It means the order and government, with all the laws in the church, as it is now established.

G. Then I will not answer to approve of it.\*

From the above examination, the reader will clearly see, that Mr. Greenwood's judges designed to make him accuse himself. Though he positively refused to take the oath *ex officio*, they certainly intended to make him an offender by what they could force from his own mouth. Cruel inquisitors! What would they have thought, if they themselves had been treated thus, in the bloody days of Queen Mary? Such shocking barbarities will be a stigma upon the ecclesiastical rulers of this protestant country, to the latest posterity.

At the close of the above examination, Mr. Greenwood was carried back to prison, where he remained a long time under close confinement. Here he had many companions in bondage, as appears from a paper now before me, entitled, "The names of sundry faithful Christians imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." In this paper it is observed, that Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow had been imprisoned thirty weeks in the Clink, for reading a portion of scripture in a friend's house on the Lord's day, but were removed by an *habeas corpus* to the Fleet, where they lay upon an execution of two hundred and sixty pounds

\* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 22—25.

a-piece. Henry Thompson and George Collier were committed to the Clink by the Bishop of London, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read a portion of scripture as above observed; and had remained prisoners nineteen months without being called to answer. Jerome Studley was sent to the Compter, by his lordship, for refusing to answer interrogatories, where he remained fifteen months. Christopher Roper was committed close prisoner by the Bishop of London. Edward Boys was nineteen months in Bridewell, and afterwards close prisoner in the Clink. John Chamber was committed to the same prison, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read as above, where he died. Roger Jackson was sent close prisoner to Newgate, where he died. George Bright, for commending a faithful christian under persecution, was committed to Newgate, where he died. Maynard, Roe, and Barrow, three aged widows, were cast into Newgate, by the Bishop of London, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read a portion of scripture, and two of them died of the infection of the prison. Quintin Smyth was committed to Newgate, confined in a dungeon, loaded with irons, and his Bible taken from him. John Purdye was sent to Bridewell by the Archbishop of Canterbury, where he was confined in a place called *Little Ease*, and beaten with cudgels, for refusing to attend the service of the parish church. There are many others who underwent similar barbarous usage; \* but these are given as a specimen, shewing the spirit of the times, and the cruel oppressions of the lordly prelates.

During these inhuman proceedings, the Bishop of London, and others of the high commission, appointed forty-three ministers to confer with the same number of Brownists confined in the different prisons in and about London; (the names of whom, as well as the prisoners, are now before me;) and delivered unto them for their direction, "A Brief of the Positions held by the new Sectaries, being twelve in number." These twelve positions, as charged against them by their adversaries, are full of erroneous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; but they contain little more than misrepresentation. Therefore, to these positions they published a reply, entitled "A brief Answer to certain slanderous and ungodly Calumniation spread abroad by the Bishops and their Adherents, against divers faithful and true Christians," 1590. In this piece, they absolutely denied the most odious charges brought against them, and openly



declared what they believed in all the twelve particulars; and it appears, my author adds, that they held very few or none of those false doctrines or positions with which they were charged.\*

Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow united with about sixty other prisoners, in laying their case at the feet of the lord treasurer. This they did by presenting a petition to this honourable person, called "The humble Petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the Bishops in sundry Prisons in and about London." In this petition, they earnestly beseech this great statesman, either to grant them speedy trial, or some christian conference; or, in the mean time, that they might be bailed according to law: or, that he would move their cause before the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy council. They then state their case in the following very moving language:—"May it please your lordship to understand, that we, her majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true-hearted subjects, to the number of three-score persons and upwards, have, contrary to all law and equity, been imprisoned, separated from our trades, wives, children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort: many of us the space of two years and a half, upon the bishops' sole commandment, in great penury, and noisome prisons; many ending their lives, never called to trial; some haled forth to the sessions; some put in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine. All of them debarred from any lawful audience before our honourable governors and magistrates, and from all help and benefit of the laws: daily defamed and falsely accused, by published pamphlets, private suggestions, open preaching, slanders, and accusations of heresy, sedition, schism, and what not. And above all, (which most toucheth our salvation,) they keep us from all spiritual edification and comfort, by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference."† This petition, however, did not succeed according to their wishes.

During their long and severe imprisonment, various pamphlets were published against them, whereby their characters were foully aspersed, and their sentiments exceedingly misrepresented. In reply, they published several pamphlets, in defence of themselves and their opinions, and endeavoured to set forth the truth in its proper light. Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow were supposed to be the authors

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 425. (2) (3.)

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 91—93.

of these publications, in which they expressed themselves with considerable freedom against the bishops, and the established church. Therefore, March 21, 1592, they, together with Mr. Saxio Bellot, gent., Daniel Studley, girdler, and Robert Bowle, fishmonger, were indicted at the Old Bailey, upon the statute of 23 Eliz. "For writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government;" when, in fact, they had written and published only against the church. Upon their trial, they behaved with great constancy and resolution, shewing no token of recognition, nor prayer for mercy. They protested their inviolable loyalty to the queen, and obedience to her government: that they never wrote, nor so much as ever intended to write, any thing against her highness, but only against the bishops and the established church; which was, indeed, sufficiently manifest. The jury, however, savouring too much of the spirit of their judges, brought them all in guilty.\* Bellot, with tears, desired a conference, and confessed with sorrow what he had done; and Studley and Bowle being looked upon as accessaries only, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken loyalty to the queen, and refusing to ask for mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to prison. Studley, after four years' imprisonment, was banished from the country, and Bellot and Bowle, not long after, died in Newgate.† In the mean time, Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow were reserved for public examples.‡ Accordingly, sentence of death was passed upon them March 23d, when several divines were appointed to persuade them to recant. But remaining steadfast, they were carried, on the last of March, in a cart to Tyburn, and for some time exposed

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 414, 415.

† MS. Remarks on Hist. p. 454.

‡ About this time, Mr. Barrow presented a petition to the Attorney-General Egerton, in which, after humbly requesting the favour of an impartial conference, in behalf of himself and his brethren then confined in prison, he thus addressed him:—"I protest to your worship, in the sight of God, at whose judgment I look hourly to stand, that I hold not any thing out of singularity, or pride of spirit; but am certainly persuaded by the grounds of God's word, the profession and practice of the reformed churches, and learned men of other countries. I, for my own part, avow unto your worship, that, through God's grace, I will utterly forsake any error I shall be proved to hold, and will humbly submit in all matters proved by the word of God.—By this charitable act, your worship may put an end to the present controversies, reduce all wherein we err, and appease many christian souls.—Signed your worship's humble suppliant,

HENRY BARROW."

*Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 171.

under the gallows before the people, to see whether the terrors of death would not frighten them. They, nevertheless, continued firm even in the immediate prospect of death, and were brought back to Newgate. April 6, 1593, they were carried to Tyburn a second time, and there executed.\* At the place of execution, they gave such testimonies of their unfeigned piety towards God, and loyalty to the queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous reign, that when Dr. Rainolds, who attended them, reported their behaviour to her majesty, she repented of having consented to their death.+ The doctor signified to her majesty, "that he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as any that had been raised up in that age." The queen, afterwards riding by the place of their execution, called to mind their suffering death, and, desirous to obtain some further information concerning them, demanded of the Earl of Cumberland, who was present at their death, what kind of end they made. He answered, "A very godly end, and prayed for your majesty, state, &c." Also, Mr. Philips, a most worthy and famous preacher, having conferred with Mr. Barrow, and beheld his holy preparation for death, said, "Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine."‡ And we learn from the famous Mr. Hugh Broughton, who lived in these times, "that though Barrow and Greenwood were condemned for disturbance of the state; this would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church."§ Thus they suffered for their nonconformity!

Their trial for offences against the state, when they had written against the bishops and the church only, was undoubtedly the artful contrivance of Archbishop Whitgift; who, by so doing, cast the odium of their death from himself upon the civil magistrate. Indeed, this charge is fairly brought against him by one of the sufferers. Mr. Barrow, having suffered confinement in close prison several years, exposed to all the severities of cold, nakedness, and famine, at length presented a supplication to the queen, earnestly desiring to be delivered from their present miseries, though it were by death. The paper was, however, intercepted by the archbishop, who endeavoured to prevent

\* Heylin's Hist. of Presby. p. 324, 325.

† Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 884. 4to. Edit.

‡ Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 147.

§ Broughton's Works, vol. ii. p. 731. Edit. 1662.



a knowledge of their situation from coming to the ears of the queen. Mr. Barrow, therefore, exposed his grace's behaviour, in the following smart language:—"The arch-bishop," says he, "having sent so many men to divers prisons, as Bridewell, Newgate, the two Compters, the White-lion, and the Fleet, now posted these things to the civil magistrate. He hath destined brother Greenwood and myself to death, and others to close prison; their poor wives and children to be cast out of the city, and their goods to be confiscated. Is not this," says he, "a christian bishop? Are these the virtues of him, who takes upon himself the care and government of the churches in the land, to tear and devour God's poor sheep, to rend off their flesh and break their bones, and chop them in pieces as flesh for the cauldron? Will he thus instruct and convince gainsayers? Surely he will persuade but few, who fear God, to his religion, by this evil dealing. Does he consult his own credit, or the honour of his prince, by this tyrannical havock? For our parts, our lives are not dear unto us, so that we may finish our testimony with joy. We are always ready, through the grace of God, to be offered up upon the testimony of the faith that we have made."\* When, therefore, their whole case is impartially considered, we think there was not much cause for Mr. Strype to call these *passionate* and *angry* expressions. These unhappy men undoubtedly fell a sacrifice to the resentment of an angry prelate; who is, nevertheless, denominated "a very worthy man."†

In the mean time, while we condemn the severity with which these men were treated, we do not mean to palliate their errors. Their rigid and narrow sentiments concerning discipline; their denying the church of England to be a true church; their maintaining that her government was so wholly popish and antichristian as to render all her ordinances and sacraments invalid; and their not only renouncing communion with her, but with all other reformed churches, excepting such as were according to their own model, are sufficient proofs how strongly they were tinged with bigotry. The true grounds of religious freedom were, at this period, so little understood, that it is exceedingly probable, that, if the Brownists had risen in power, they would have exercised it in a very unjustifiable manner. The condemnation and execution of Mr. Barrow and

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 415, 416.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 206.

Greenwood, were acts of flagrant injustice and cruelty, and will stand as monuments of disgrace to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as durable as time.\*

Upon this part of our English history, the judicious Rapin observes, "That the queen hearkened to the suggestions of the clergy, who represented the puritans as seditious persons; who rebelled against the laws, and, by their disobedience, shook the foundations of the government. This is not the only time, nor is England the only state, where disobedience in point of religion, has been confounded with rebellion against the sovereign. There is scarcely a christian state, where the prevailing sect will suffer the least division, or the least swerving from the established opinions; no, not even in private. Shall I venture to say, it is the *clergy chiefly* who support this strange principle of non-toleration, so little agreeable to christian charity? The severity of which, from this time, began to be exercised upon the nonconformists in England, produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and occasioned troubles and factions which remain to this day."†

Mr. Greenwood published "A Briefe Refutation of Mr. George Gifford;" and "An Answer to George Gifford's pretended Defence of Read-Prayers and Devised Liturgies;" in the titles of which, he calls himself "Christ's poor afflicted Prisoner in the Fleet, for the Truth of the Gospel."

WILLIAM SMYTH was born about the year 1563, and educated, most probably, in the university of Cambridge. On his entrance upon the sacred function, he was ordained by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and licensed to preach by the Bishop of Sarum, when he became minister at Bradford in Wiltshire. Having continued in this situation for some time, he went to London, attended the private assemblies of the Brownists' congregation, and probably became a zealous and active member of the church; for which he was cast into prison, where he remained a long time. During his confinement, he was frequently carried before the inquisitors of the high commission and the star-chamber, and after examination, with a view to make him confess and accuse himself and his brethren, he was sent back to prison. On one of these

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 621. Edit. 1778.

† Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 141.

occasions, April 5, 1593, he was convened before the Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dale, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Young; when he underwent an examination, of which the following particulars are preserved:—He said he had been in prison about two months, committed by Dr. Stanhope and others, on suspicion of being privy to the matters concerning the coffin, (referring, no doubt, to the coffin of Mr. Roger Rippon,) carried to Mr. Young's door. He said also that he had been examined first before Mr. Young and Mr. Townsend; next before the Bishop of London and others; and lastly before the Lord Chief Justice and Judge Anderson, but never, to his knowledge, was indicted. He confessed that he had been at an assembly, in the house of Mr. Lees, near Smithfield; but when he was asked whether he belonged to that church, of which Mr. Johnson was pastor, he refused to answer. Also, when it was demanded whether he had ever any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books in his possession, he again refused to answer. He acknowledged that he came up to London to confer with Mr. Johnson, Mr. Greenwood, and others, and that he attended the assembly in Lees's house, on purpose to hear and see their orders in church matters. He refused the oath *ex officio*; and when he was asked whether he would go to the parish church, he refused to be bound, but was desirous to have a conference.\* Great numbers of Brownists were now confined in the different prisons in and about London, many of whose names, and their crimes, with their cruel usage, are now before me. The two principal crimes with which they were charged by their enemies, were, their having seen or possessed certain books supposed to have been published by Barrow, Greenwood, or Penry; and their having joined the congregation of Brownists, which, to avoid the persecution of the bishops, assembled in private houses, in the fields, and in woods. For these significant offences, they were stigmatized as rebels, and committed to filthy prisons, where many of them died, and others, after a miserable imprisonment of four or five years, were banished from the country. Mr. Smyth was probably of this number.†

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 111, 112.

† Ibid. p. 59—117.



THOMAS SETTLE was born about the year 1555, and most probably educated in the university of Cambridge. He was ordained by Bishop Freak, after which he became minister of Boxted in Suffolk, and a zealous nonconformist; but was roughly used by Archbishop Whitgift. In May, 1586, being cited before his grace at Lambeth, the following charges were exhibited against him:—"That he did not observe the order in the Book of Common Prayer.—That he did not use the cross, nor admit the promise and vow in baptism.—That he did not marry with the ring, and say, 'With this ring I thee wed.'—That he frequented conventicles.—That he denied the lawfulness of private baptism by women, and the baptism of ministers who could not preach.—And that he denied that the soul of our Saviour went into hell, or the regions of the damned."

Upon the exhibition of these charges against Mr. Settle, he was first examined upon our Lord's descent into hell; when he confessed it was his opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into hell, and that Calvin, Beza, and other learned men, were of the same opinion. This put the archbishop into so violent a passion, that he called him *ass*, *dolt*, *fool*, and added, *they are liars*.\* Mr. Settle said, "You ought not to rail at me, being a minister of the gospel." "What," replied his lordship, "dost thou think it much to be called *ass* and *dolt*? I have called many of thy betters so." "True," observed Mr. Settle; "but the question is, how lawfully you have done that." The lordly archbishop then said, "Thou shalt preach no more in my province." Mr. Settle answered, "I am called to preach the gospel, and I will not cease to preach it." The archbishop, with a stern countenance, replied, "Neither you, nor any one in England, shall preach without my leave;" and immediately commanded him to be carried close prisoner to the Gatehouse. Before his departure, the Dean of Westminster asking him whether he had subscribed, Mr. Settle replied, "Yes; I have subscribed, and am ready to subscribe again, to the doctrine of faith and sacraments, being as much as the law requires: but to other rites and ceremonies, I neither *can* nor *will* subscribe." "Then," said the angry archbishop, "thou shalt be subject to the ecclesiastical

\* This prelate is commended as a worthy and prudent governor of the church; and his mild and moderate carriage, it is said, was well worthy of imitation! This good man expired in David's fulness of days, leaving a name like sweet perfume behind him! *Paule's Life of Whitgift*, Pref.—*Kennet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 665.

authority." Mr. Settle replied, "I thank God, you can use no violence only upon my poor body." So Whitgift committed him close prisoner to the Gatehouse, where the good man continued about six years;\* till the year 1592,† when he was released.

After his deliverance from this cruel bondage, Mr. Settle became a member of the Brownists' congregation, which assembled in private places in and about London. His troubles, however, were not ended: bonds and afflictions were still awaiting him. For, towards the close of the above year, he was apprehended at a private assembly, held in the school-house of Mr. George Johnson, in Nicholas-lane, and committed to prison. After remaining under confinement for fifteen weeks, without either examination or indictment, he was carried before the high commission, April 6, 1593, when he was required to take the oath *ex officio*, but he absolutely refused. Though he would not accuse either himself or his brethren; yet, during his examination, he acknowledged certain things, from which we have collected the following particulars:—He confessed that he had held his opinions, and separated himself from the established church, for about a year; but had not received the sacrament in the parish church for three years. He acknowledged that he had opposed the discipline of the church for seven years; but he refused to say by what means he had been induced to imbibe these opinions. When he was commanded to say whether he possessed, or had ever read, any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books, he refused to give a direct answer, but said, he would not be his own accuser. Being asked how many he had persuaded, and brought over to his opinions, he said, he was firmly fixed in what he professed, and was desirous of bringing over as many others as he was able; but more he would not answer.

He, moreover, confessed, that he was present at the assembly in a house in Aldgate, when Robert Stokes was excommunicated for his apostacy; and that he was excommunicated by Mr. Francis Johnson the pastor, when the rest of the officers and congregation were present, and consented to what was done. He said, also, that he had never served in any office in the congregation; but had occasionally taught or prophesied in the assembly. He likewise confessed, that he had received the Lord's supper in

\* MS. Register, p. 793.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 96.

their congregation, in a house near Smithfield, but he knew not whose the house was. He, at the same time, refused to attend the public service of the parish churches; because, he thought, they had not a true ministry.\*—This was the result of the inquisition of his spiritual judges; but it does not appear how long he remained in prison: most probably he was released upon the general banishment of the puritans.

**JOHN PENRY, A. M.**—This distinguished puritan was born in Brecknockshire, in the year 1559, and educated first at Cambridge, then at St. Albans-hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1586. “When he first went to Cambridge,” says Wood, “he was as arrant a papist as ever came out of Wales, and he would have run a false gallop over his beads with any man in England, and help the priest sometimes to say mass at midnight.” Admitting he was then much inclined to popery, being only about eighteen years of age, we need not wonder, especially when it is recollected, that the country whence he came was then wholly overspread with popish darkness. However, as our author intimates, he soon renounced popery; and, after taking his degrees, became an esteemed preacher in both universities, where he was accounted “a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man.” This, from so bitter an author, is certainly a very high character of so rigid a puritan. “But,” he adds, “being full of Welsh blood, and of a hot and restless head, he changed his course, and became a notorious anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and a most bitter enemy to the church of England.”† He was, undoubtedly, an enemy to the hierarchy, and the persecution of the prelates, and a zealous promoter of a further reformation.

Upon Mr. Penry’s leaving the university, he settled for some time at Northampton, where he was most probably employed in the ministry. About the year 1587, he entered upon his sufferings in the cause of nonconformity, being convened before Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and other high commissioners. The charge brought against him was, that in a book he had published, he had asserted, “That mere readers, meaning such as could not, or would not preach, were no ministers. Reading homilies only, or

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 108. † Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 227.



any other books," he said, "was not preaching the word of God, and so the ordinary means of salvation was wanting." During his examination, the Bishop of London asking him what he had to say against nonresidents, he said, "They are odious in the sight of God; because, to the utmost of their power, they deprive the people of the ordinary means of salvation, which is the word preached." When the bishop demanded whether preaching was the *only* means of salvation, Mr. Penry replied, "It is the only *ordinary* means." This he endeavoured to confirm, from the following portions of scripture: "How shall they hear without a preacher?—It pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.—In whom also ye trusted, after ye heard the word of truth." Having, for a considerable time, discussed Mr. Penry's assertion, that the word is the only ordinary means of salvation, the Bishop of Winchester arose, and said, "I assure you, my lords, it is an execrable heresy." "An heresy!" replied Mr. Penry, "I thank God that I ever knew that heresy. It is such a heresy, as I will, by the grace of God, sooner leave my life than leave it." The bishop then said, "I tell thee, it is a heresy; and thou shalt recant it as a heresy." "Never," replied Mr. Penry, "God willing, so long as I live." Though his lordship afterwards endeavoured to defend himself against what is here ascribed to him, he seems to have been very unsuccessful.\* It also appears, that Whitgift supported his brother of Winchester in his assertion, that Penry's opinion was an execrable heresy, and that he should recant it as such; adding, "that such heathenish untruth is to be pitied rather than answered."† Mr. Penry was, therefore, committed to prison; and, after about a month's confinement, was discharged without any further proceeding. But presently after his release, they sent their pursuivants with warrants to apprehend him, and commit him to prison. Walton, one of their pursuivants, went immediately to Northampton; and upon entering Mr. Penry's house, ransacked his study, and took away all the books and papers which he thought proper; but Mr. Penry was not to be found.‡

Upon the publication of Martin Mar-Prelate, and other satirical pamphlets, a special warrant was issued from the council, in 1590, under several hands, of which Whitgift's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an enemy to

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 573, 574. + Strype's Whitgift, p. 306.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 487. (2.)

the state; and that all the queen's good subjects should take him so to be. But Mr. Penry, about the same time, went into Scotland, not merely for safety from the storm, but as a student in divinity, where he remained till the year 1593. While he was in the north, he made many observations relative to religion, for his own private use; and, at length, prepared the heads of a petition or an address to the queen. This petition was designed to represent to her majesty the true state of religion, and how ignorant she was of the many abuses in the church. Likewise to intercede with her, that he might, by her authority, have liberty to go into Wales, and preach the gospel in his native country, where, indeed, it was much wanted. He intended himself to deliver it to the queen, as he should find opportunity. The heads of the petition, clothed in plain and smart language, were as follows:

“The last days of your reign are turned rather against Jesus Christ and his gospel, than to the maintenance of the same.

“I have great cause and complaint, *madam*; nay, the Lord and his church have cause to complain of your government, because we, your subjects, this day, are not permitted to serve our God, under your government, according to his *word*, but are sold to be bondslaves, not only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil laws, but also to be servants to the *man of sin* (the pope) and his ordinances.

“It is not the force that we seem to fear that will come upon us, (for the Lord may destroy both you for denying, and us for slack seeking of his will,) by strangers: I come unto you with it. If you will hear it, our cause may be eased; if not, that posterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this age may know that there is no expectation to be looked for at your hands.

“Among the rest of the princes under the gospel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to be one; for until you are this, *madam*, you see not yourself; and they are but sycophants and flatterers whoever tell you otherwise: your standing is and has been by the gospel. It is little beholden to you for any thing that appears. The practice of your government shews, that if you could have ruled without the gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the gospel should be established or not; for now that you are established in your

“ throne by the gospel, you suffer it to reach no further than  
“ the end of your sceptre limiteth unto it.

“ If we had had Queen Mary’s days, I think that we should  
“ have had as flourishing a church this day as ever any ;  
“ for it is well known that there was then in London, under  
“ the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more flourishing  
“ churches than any now tolerated by your authority.

“ Now, whereas we should have your help both to join  
“ ourselves with the true church, and reject the false, and  
“ all the ordinances thereof ; we are in your kingdom per-  
“ mitted to do nothing, but accounted *seditions*, if we  
“ affirm either the one or the other of the former points :  
“ and therefore, *madam*, you are not so much an adversary  
“ to us poor men, as unto Jesus Christ, and the wealth of  
“ his kingdom.

“ If we cannot have your favour, but by omitting our  
“ duty to God, we are unworthy of it ; and, by God’s  
“ grace, we mean not to purchase it so dear.

“ But, *madam*, thus much we must needs say, that, in all  
“ likelihood, if the days of your sister Queen Mary, and  
“ her persecution, had continued unto this day, that the  
“ church of God in England had been far more flourish-  
“ ing than at this day it is : for then, *madam*, the church  
“ of God within this land, and elsewhere, being strangers,  
“ enjoyed the ordinances of God’s holy word, as far as  
“ then they saw.

“ But since *your majesty* came unto your crown, we  
“ have had whole Christ Jesus, God and man ; but we  
“ must serve him only in heart.

“ And if those days had continued to this time, and those  
“ lights risen therein which by the mercy of God have  
“ since shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the  
“ church of England, even in England, had far surpassed  
“ all the reformed churches in the world.

“ Then, *madam*, any of our brethren durst not have been  
“ seen within the tents of antichrist : now they are ready  
“ to defend them to be the Lord’s, and that he has no other  
“ tabernacle upon earth but them. Our brethren then durst  
“ not temporize in the cause of God, because the Lord  
“ ruled himself in his church, by his own laws, in a good  
“ measure ; but now, behold ! they may do what they will,  
“ for any sword that the church has to draw against them,  
“ if they contain themselves within your laws.

“ This peace, under these conditions, we cannot enjoy ;  
“ and therefore, for any thing I can see, Queen Mary’s days



“ will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The  
 “ whole truth we must not speak ; the whole truth we must  
 “ not profess. Your *state* must have a stroke above the  
 “ truth of God.

“ Now, *madam*, your majesty may consider what good  
 “ the church of God hath taken at your hands, even  
 “ outward peace with the absence of Jesus Christ in his  
 “ ordinance ; otherwise, as great troubles are likely to come  
 “ as ever, even in the days of your sister.

“ As for the council and clergy, if we bring any such  
 “ suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which  
 “ Pharaoh gives to the Lord’s messengers, touching the  
 “ state of the church under his government.

“ For when any are called for this cause before your  
 “ council, or the judges of the land, they must take this  
 “ for granted, once for all, that the uprightness of their  
 “ cause will profit them nothing, if the law of the land  
 “ be against them ; for your council and judges have so  
 “ well profited in religion, that they will not stick to say,  
 “ that they come not to consult whether the matter be with  
 “ or against the *word* or not, but their purpose is to take  
 “ the penalty of the transgressions against your laws.

“ If your council were wise, they would not kindle  
 “ your wrath against us ; but, *madam*, if you give ear to  
 “ their words, no marvel though you have no better  
 “ counsellors.”

Though these things contained in Mr. Penry’s intended petition, were certainly expressed in rude and offensive language ; yet they were only written upon a private paper in his own possession ; and how much truth they contained is left with the impartial reader to determine.\* With this petition, he, therefore, returned from Scotland, having also his observations with him. But presently after his arrival in London, he was seized in Stepney parish, by the information of the vicar, in the month of May ; and arraigned, condemned, and executed, the very same month !

The charges brought against him were collected from the above petition and private observations. He was indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz. chap. 2. *For seditious words and rumors uttered against the queen’s most excellent majesty, tending to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects ;* and was convicted of felony, May 21, in the King’s-bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Popham.†

\* Strype’s Whitgift, p. 410—412. † Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

During Mr. Penry's confinement, he underwent an examination before the Worshipful Mr. Fanshaw and Justice Young, which was as follows :

Fanshaw. It is strange to me, that you, Mr. Penry, hold such opinions as none of the learned men of this age, nor any of the martyrs in former times, maintained. Can you shew any writers, either ancient or modern, who have been of your judgment ?

Penry. I hold nothing besides what I will be bound to prove out of the written word of God, and will shew to have been maintained by our holy martyrs, Wickliff, Brute, Purvy, White, Tindal, Lambert, Barnes, Latimer, and others.

F. Do the martyrs then teach you, that there is no church of Christ in England ?

P. If, by a church, you mean that public profession whereby men profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying that there is a church of Christ in this land.

F. What then do you dislike in our church ? and why will you not partake of these truths and the sacraments with us ?

P. I dislike, 1. The false ecclesiastical officers.—2. The manner of calling those officers.—3. A great part of the works wherein these false officers are employed.—4. Their maintenance or livings. All of which I will be bound to prove, by the Lord's assistance, to be derived, not from Jesus Christ, but from antichrist. Therefore, as I cannot be partaker of those holy things of God, except under the power of antichrist, and by bearing those marks by which he is known, I am bound to seek the comfort of the word and sacraments where I may have them without submitting to any other ecclesiastical government than that which is derived from Jesus Christ.

F. What officers do you mean ?

P. I mean archbishops, *lord* bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deans, canons, prebendaries, priests, &c. all of which properly belong to no other body, whether ecclesiastical or civil, but only to the Romish church, where they were first invented, where they still are, and from thence were left in this land when the pope was cast out by her majesty's royal father. The church of Christ, in all its offices, is perfect without them : the state, being a civil community, is perfect without them : heathen idolatry hath them not, and requireth them not. Only the

kingdom of antichrist can in no wise be whole and entire without them. And if it be not lawful for the members of Christ to be subject to the ceremonies of the Jews, which God himself once appointed, how can it be otherwise than a great sin, to subject ourselves to the appointments of antichrist, the Lord's great adversary? The Lord hath not delivered us from the yoke of his own law, that we might be in bondage to the inventions and impositions of antichrist.

F. Would you then have no other offices in the church, now in time of peace and prosperity, than were in the days of the apostles under persecution?

P. There is certainly great reason we should not. For if the order left to the church by Moses was not to be altered, except by the special command of God; then may neither man nor angel, except by the same warrant, add any thing to that holy form which the Son of God hath appointed for his own house: As, Heb. iii. 3., Rev. xxii. 19.

F. I am sure you allow of Luther. What office had he?

P. He was first a monk, and so a member of the kingdom of antichrist. He was afterwards degraded and deprived. At length, he was, as he called himself, "A preacher of Christ's blessed truth and gospel." And I think he had the pastoral office in the church at Wertemburg; but whether he had, or had not, his example is no law for the church. It is Jesus Christ *alone*, whom we must hear and follow. We must walk according to his will and word; and if an angel from heaven would draw us aside, we dare not give ear unto him: As, Gal. i. 8, 9.

F. And what office had you in your church, which meets in woods, and I know not where?

P. I have no office in that poor congregation. And as to our meeting in woods, or elsewhere, we have the example of Jesus Christ, and his church and servants in all ages, for our warrant. It is against our wills, that we go into woods and secret places. As we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, so our desire is to profess it openly. We are ready, before men and angels, to shew and justify our meetings, and our behaviour in them, earnestly desiring that we may serve God with peace and quietness; and that all men may witness our upright walking towards our God, and all the world, especially towards our prince and government. We know the meeting in woods, in caves, in mountains, &c. is a part of the cross of the gospel, at which the natural man will easily stumble; but we rejoice to be in



this mean estate for the Lord's sacred truth. The question should not so much be, *where* we meet, as *what* we do at our meetings; whether our meetings and doings be warranted by the word of God, and what constraineth us to meet in those places.

F. We will speak of your unlawful assemblies afterwards. What calling have you to preach? Were you never made a minister according to the order of this land?

P. Had I been willing, I might have been made either deacon or priest; but, I thank the Lord, I ever disliked those popish orders: and, if I had taken them, I would utterly refuse them. I have taught publicly in the church of Scotland, being thereunto earnestly desired, and called by the order of that church. I never had any charge; and, therefore, I never bare any office, either there or in any other church.

F. Did you not preach in these your secret meetings? What warrant had you so to do, if you never had any public office in your church?

P. Whether I did or not, I do not at present tell you. But this, I say, that if the same poor congregation\* desired to have the use of my small gifts, for edification and consolation, I would, being thereunto prepared, most willingly bestow my poor talent for their mutual edification and mine.

F. And may you teach publicly in the church, having no public office therein?

P. I may, because I am a member thereof, and requested thereunto by the church, and judged to be, in some measure, endowed with suitable gifts for handling the word of God. The church or body of Christ, ought to have the use of all the gifts that are in any of its members, and the member cannot deny unto the body the use of those graces with which it is furnished, without breaking the laws and order of the body, and thus become unnatural: As, Rom. xii., 1 Cor. xii.

\* Mr. Penry was a member of the church of Brownists, meeting about London, sometimes in the fields and woods in the dead of the night, to avoid the fury of the prelates. During his confinement in prison, he wrote a most pious, affectionate, and encouraging letter, to Mr. Francis Johnson, the pastor, and the rest of the brethren. It is addressed "To the distressed and faithful Congregation of Christ in London, and all the Members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty." And he concludes by subscribing himself "Their loving brother, in the patience and sufferings of the gospel, JOHN PENRY. A witness of Christ in this life, and a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed."—*Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry*, p. 46—48.

F. Then every one that will, may preach the word in your assemblies.

P. Not so. For we hold it unlawful for any man to intermeddle with the Lord's holy truth, beyond the bounds of his gifts; or for him who is endowed with gifts, to preach or teach in the church, except he be desired and called thereto by the body of the church.

F. May any person then preach, who hath no office so to do?

P. Yes, that he may; and the word of God bindeth every one to preach who intendeth to become a pastor or teacher in the church of Christ, even before he take upon him this office.

F. What office then hath he all this time?

P. No other office than the other members of the body have, who are bound to perform their several operations in the body, according to that measure of grace which they have received from the Lord Jesus. And, indeed, it is a common practice in our colleges and universities, for those to preach who have no office.

F. Yes, it is in the schools.

P. If this exercise, according to your own confession, be warrantable in the schools and colleges, it is certainly much more so in the church and congregation.

F. Well, then, you bear no office in your church. You will not tell us whether you taught among them; but you say you would if they required you.

P. True.

F. But how came it to pass that you were not made an officer among them?

P. Doubtless I was desired to take a charge, and to continue among them, but I would not; because I have always purposed to employ my small talent in my poor country of Wales, where, I know, the poor people perish for lack of knowledge.

F. You labour to draw her majesty's subjects from their obedience to her laws, and from the church of England, to hear you, and such as you, teaching in woods.

P. Nay; I persuade all men to obey my prince and her laws. Only I dissuade all the world from yielding obedience and subjection to the ordinances of antichrist, and persuade them to be subject to Jesus Christ and his laws: I know this to be agreeable to the laws of her majesty.

F. What! Is it meet that subjects should charge their

prince to keep covenant with them? Where do you find this warranted in scripture?

P. The subjects are in a most lamentable state, if they may not allege their prince's laws for what they do; yea, and shew what their prince hath promised to the Lord, and to them, when this is done to prove their own innocency. It is the honour of princes, so to hold and be in covenant with their subjects, that they will preserve them from violence and wrong. And I am assured, that, if her majesty knew the equity and uprightness of our cause, we should not receive the hard treatment we now sustain. We and our cause are never brought before her, except in the odious names of sedition, rebellion, schism, heresy, &c. It is, therefore, no wonder to see the edge of the sword turned against us.

F. Hath not her majesty, by her laws, established the offices and order now in the church of England?

P. I grant her laws have, but of oversight; taking them for the true offices and order of the church of Christ. And because we see this oversight, we therefore fly to her former promise and act, by which she granteth all the privileges of the church of Christ.

F. Why go you about then to pull down bishops?

P. Alas! be it far from us, ever to attempt any such thing. We only put her majesty and state in mind of the wrath of God that is likely to come upon the land, for upholding many popish inventions. We labour for the salvation of our own souls, and all those who will be warned by us, by avoiding all corruptions in religion, and practising, so far as we know, the whole will of God. Further than this, we cannot go; and, therefore, dare not so much as in thought, attempt to alter or pull down any thing established by her laws.

F. Why then do you meet in woods, and such secret and suspicious places, if you purpose no insurrection for pulling down the bishops?

P. I told you the reason already. Our meetings are for the true worship of God, and there is not so much as one word or thought about bishops in our assemblies, except in praying for them as we do for our own souls. We hold our meetings in secret, because, as I before told you, we cannot have them in public without disturbance. We do not wish to withdraw ourselves from the sight of any creature; but we are bound to observe the pure worship



of God, though it be in woods, in mountains, or in caves.

F. Then you are privy to no practice or intent of any sedition or commotion against her majesty and the state, or for pulling down the bishops?

P. No, I thank God, I never was. And I protest before heaven and earth, that, if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same, to the utmost of my power, in all cases whatsoever.

Young. But what meant you, Penry, when you told me at my house, that I should live to see the day when there should not be a lord bishop left in England?

P. You, sir, do me great injury, but I am content to bear it. I said, "because God hath promised to overthrow and consume the remnants of the kingdom of antichrist, you may live to see all the offices, callings, livings, and works, belonging to that kingdom, utterly overthrown." This is what I said, and I beseech and charge you, as you shall answer in the day of judgment, not to misreport my speech.

Y. I conceived some great matter of your speech, I tell you.

P. In this you did me the greater wrong. I pray you, hereafter, take my words according to my meaning, and their natural signification.

F. You say, that these offices and livings, derived, according to your conceit, from the body of antichrist, shall be overthrown by the Lord: we would know how this will be accomplished.

P. The work, I am assured, will be accomplished; because the Lord hath said it in his word. But the manner how, and the time when, it shall be done, I leave to him "who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will," and whose "ways and judgments are past finding out."

F. What you now do, or what you mean to do, in your assemblies, we cannot tell; but this is sure, that the papists seem to take encouragement by your dealing. They are now become very numerous; and they say, that your separation from the church is a great stumbling-block to them.

P. What we do in our meetings, and what are our purposes, I have faithfully told you; and we are ready to approve our purposes and actions to be in all good con-

science towards the Lord, our prince, and all mankind. And if the number of ignorant and idolatrous priests greatly increase, it is nothing wonderful, seeing there are so many remnants of popery left unbanished from the land: these are their baits and encouragements.

F. What are the baits that you mean?

P. I mean the popish offices and livings of archbishops, lord bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, priests, &c.: the continuance of which, and the popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the pope and his sworn subjects in daily hope of replanting the throne of iniquity in the land; but I trust in the Lord, they will be utterly disappointed. If these offices and livings were once removed, the pope and his emissaries would have no hope left, of again setting up the standard of the man of sin, in this noble kingdom. I wonder not, that the papists dislike our separation; for they know, that of all the men under heaven, we are the greatest enemies to popery: we would leave them neither root nor branch; but would have the world as much cleared of the remains of antichrist, as it was on that day when the Lord Jesus ascended up on high, and led captivity captive.

F. But why do you refuse a conference, that you may be reformed in those things in which you err?

P. I refuse none. I most readily and willingly yield to any, as Mr. Young hath it under my own hand to testify. Only my desire and request is, that some equal conditions may be granted to me and my brethren. But if this cannot be obtained, I am ready to yield to any conference, though the conditions be ever so unequal. And I beseech you, be a means with her majesty and their honours, that my case may be weighed in an even balance. Imprisonments, indictments and death, are no proper weapons to convince men's consciences.\*

Here the examination closed. We leave the reader to make his own remarks upon it, and proceed in the history of this distinguished sufferer for Christ. It was at first designed to indict Mr. Penry for the books published in his name; but, by the advice of counsel, he drew up a paper, which proved the means of putting a stop to the proceeding. This paper, dated May 10, 1593, is entitled "Mr. Penry's Declaration, that he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name." In this declaration,

\* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 25—28.

he observes, that the statute was not intended to include such as wrote against the ecclesiastical establishment *only*. For, in this case, it would condemn many of the most learned protestants, both at home and abroad: but that it relates to persons who, shall defame her majesty's *royal person*. Whereas he had always written most dutifully of her person and government, having never encouraged sedition or insurrection against her majesty, but the contrary. Nor had he ever been at any assembly or conventicle, where any, under or above the number of twelve, were assembled, with force of arms or otherwise, to alter any thing established by law. Nor was it his opinion, that private persons should, of their own authority, attempt any such thing: he had always spoken and written the contrary. Nevertheless, if he had been guilty of all these, he ought to have been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath of two witnesses, and have been indicted within one year; otherwise the statute clears him, in express words.\*

When he came to the trial, the court, being apprehensive that his declaration would occasion an argument at law, set aside his printed books, and indicted and convicted him upon the contents of his *petition* and *private observations*, as already observed. This rendered his case still harder, as he himself represented in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, with his protestation enclosed, immediately after his condemnation; in which he thus expressed himself:—“Vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship, right honourable, to read, and duly weigh, the enclosed writing. My days, I see, are drawing to an end, and, I thank God, an undeserved end, except the Lord God stir up your honour, or some other, to plead my cause, and to acquaint her majesty with my guiltless state.

“The cause is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end; especially, seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, that they have no coherence at all in them; and, in most places, are no true English.

“Though my conscience may stand me in no stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the reward thereof before the judgment-seat of the great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the widow and the



fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and friendless widow, whom I leave behind me, and even hear their cry, for he is merciful. And being likely to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge your honour's favour towards me, in receiving the *writings*, which I have presumed to send unto you from time to time; and in this my last, I protest before the Lord God, that, so far as I know, I have written nothing but the truth.

"Thus preparing myself, not so much for an unjust verdict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as for that blessed crown of glory, which, of the great mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven, I humbly commit your lordship into the hand of our righteous Lord. In great haste, from close prison, this 22d of the fifth month, May, 1593.

"Your lordship's most humble servant in the Lord,  
"JOHN PENRY."\*

In his protestation, enclosed in the above letter, Mr. Penry declares, "That he wrote the petition and private observations while he was in Scotland. That what he had written was confused, unfinished, and perfectly secret. That it was the sum of certain objections made by others, against her majesty and her government, which he had intended to examine at some future period, but had not so much as looked into them for the last fourteen or fifteen months. And that even in these writings, so imperfect, unfinished, and enclosed within his private study, he had shewn his duty and true loyalty to the queen, nor had he ever the most secret thought to the contrary." Here he also expressed himself as follows:†

"These my writings" (meaning those from which the charges against him were collected) "are not only the most imperfect, but even so private, that no creature under heaven, myself excepted, was privy to them, till they were seized. Mine, I dare not acknowledge them to be, for a thousand worlds; because I should thereby most wickedly sin against God and my own conscience, by bearing false witness against myself. I never conceived that any man would have made any sense of them; especially against myself, by whomsoever they might be intercepted.

"Now that secret, confused, and unadvised observations are brought against me, even to the spilling of my blood;

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 413, 414.

† Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 176—181.

I humbly crave that these my papers may also be looked upon, and brought to light, as well as the others, by which my adversaries think to impeach my allegiance; which, I thank God, neither man nor angel shall ever be able to effect. Though I be condemned as a felon, or as a traitor to my natural sovereign, I thank God, that heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me of it. I remember not the day that has passed over my head, since, under her government, I came to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not commended her estate to God. And I thank God, that whensoever the end of my days comes, and I expect not to live to the end of this week, I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful subject, even in the consciences of mine enemies.

"I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms: far was that from me. Yet, in the discharge of my conscience, all the world must bear with me, if I prefer my testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. The prosperity of my prince and the state, was always most dear to me, as HE knoweth, by whom states are preserved and princes bear rule. An enemy to good order and policy, whether in church or commonwealth, I never was. I never did any thing in this cause, (Lord! thou art witness,) for contention, vain-glory, or to draw disciples after me.

"Whatsoever I have written or made known, contrary to the written word, I have warned the world to avoid. My confession of faith, and allegiance to God and the queen, written since my imprisonment, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal truth. And, therefore, if my blood were an ocean, and every drop were a life to me, I would, by the help of the Lord, give it all in defence of the same. Yet, if any error can be shewn therein, that I will not defend.

"Great things in this life I never sought for. Sufficiency I have had, with great outward trouble; but most content I have been with my lot. And content I am and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death, beseeching the Lord, that it may not be laid to the charge of any person in the land. For I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account; praying for them as for my own soul, that though we cannot accord upon earth, we may meet together in heaven, to our eternal unity and happiness. And if my death can procure

any quietness to the church of God, and the state of my prince and kingdom, glad I am that I have a life to bestow in this service. I know not to what better use it could be employed, if it were preserved; and, therefore, in this cause, I desire not to spare it. Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince; and, by the grace of God, thus I mean to die. Many such subjects I wish unto my prince; though no such reward to any of them. My earnest request is, that her majesty may be acquainted with these things before my death, or, at least, after my departure.

“Subscribed with the heart and hand that never devised or wrote any thing to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign, Queen Elizabeth.

“This I take on my death, as I hope to live hereafter,  
“JOHN PENRY.”

In his excellent Confession of Faith, referred to in the above protestation, Mr. Penry openly declares his religious sentiments, and most warmly avows his loyalty to the queen and government. Though the whole is too long for insertion, we cannot forbear transcribing a part of it, particularly that relating to his allegiance to her majesty. Because this was called in question, he declares, “I am not at this day, “nor ever was in all my life, either guilty or privy, in any “purpose, consultation, or intention, of any sedition against, “or disturbance of, her majesty’s royal state and govern- “ment. And if I were privy unto any such ungodly, undu- “tiful, and wicked actions or purposes, as might any way “impair or disturb the peaceable state of my prince and “country, I would reveal, disclose, and withstand the same, “to the utmost of my power, in all persons, foreign and “domestic, of what profession or religion soever they “might be.

“Her supreme authority, within her realms and domi- “nions, I acknowledge to be such, over all persons, and in all “causes, as no person, whether civil or ecclesiastical, may “exempt himself or his cause from the power and censure “of her laws and sword. I do also acknowledge, that her “majesty hath full authority from the Lord, to establish “and enact by her royal power, all laws, both ecclesiastical “and civil, among her subjects: in the making of which “laws, the Lord requireth that those which are ecclesiastical “be warranted by his own written word, which contains “whatsoever belongeth to his worship; and those which “are civil are founded on the rules of justice and equity. “This sovereign prerogative and authority of her highness,



“ I am most willing and ready to defend and maintain, against all the persons and states under heaven, to the loss of my life ten thousand times, if it were required. And I take the Lord to record, that, to my knowledge, I am sure that day hath not passed over my head, since the Lord, under her gracious reign, hath brought me to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not prayed for the blessing of God, both external and internal, to be fully poured forth upon her right excellent majesty’s throne, government, and dominions : and that he would convert, or speedily overthrow all his and her enemies, with their enterprises, whether they be domestic or foreign : hereof I call the Searcher of hearts in witness of the truth against my soul, if I either dissemble or forge in these premises.”

After giving a particular account of his religious opinions, he adds: “ Death, I thank God, I fear not. I know that the sting of death is taken away. And ‘ blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.’ Life I desire not, if I be guilty of sedition, or defaming and disturbing her majesty’s quiet and peaceable government. Imprisonments, indictments, arraignments, and death, are no meet weapons to convince the conscience grounded upon God’s word.—Subscribed with heart and hand, by me JOHN PENRY, now in strict bonds for the testimony of Christ.”\*

Mr. Penry, during his imprisonment, was particularly desirous to obtain a conference in the presence of her majesty and the council. In one of his petitions, addressed to the council, he therefore says, “ A conference we are most willing to yield unto. Our humble request unto her majesty and your honours, is, that if it so stand with your pleasure, we may have but this equity yielded unto us:—1. That the questions on both sides be set down in writing, and the reasons briefly annexed to them; that the answers also, with like brevity, be returned in writing, and so every thing will be the more deliberately set down, and all other speeches and matters be avoided.—2. That such of us as are scholars, may confer together (having also the use of books) about the answers and replies that we shall make.—3. That those of the ecclesiastical state, with whom we are to deal, may only be parties in this conference, and not judges. And that some of the civil state may be appointed by your honours (if your lordships will not take the hearing of the cause yourselves, which we had rather and earnestly crave,)

\* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 39—45.

to see that both parties do contain themselves within bounds : lest otherwise the holy truth of God should not be so dealt in as becometh the same ; or so holy and necessary an action should be unprofitably broken up by the infirmities, or other greater wants, of either party.”\*

This generous proposal, however, was wholly rejected. His wife, Mrs. Helen Penry, at the same time presented a most moving petition to the Lord Keeper Puckering, for access to her poor distressed husband ; but it was attended with no better success.† All Mr. Penry’s intercessions, and the intercessions of his friends, proved altogether ineffectual. It was, indeed, never known till this time, that a minister and a scholar was condemned to death for private papers found in his study ; nor do I remember, says Mr. Neale, more than one instance since that time, in whose case it was given for law, that to write has been construed an overt act. But it seems *Mr. Penry must die, right or wrong*. This his enemies appear to have fully determined ; and herein their wishes were soon gratified. Archbishop Whitgift was the first man who signed the warrant for his execution, and after him, Puckering and Popham. The warrant was immediately sent to the sheriff, who, the very same day, erected a gallows at St. Thomas Waterings, and, while the prisoner was at dinner, sent his officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon. Accordingly, he was carried in a cart to the place of execution ; and when he came there, was not allowed to speak to the people, nor to make any profession of his faith towards God, or his loyalty to the queen ; but was hastily turned off, about five o’clock in the afternoon, May 29, 1593, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.‡ He left a widow and four poor children, the eldest of which was not more than four years old, to feel and bemoan the painful loss.

In the preface to Mr. Penry’s “History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram,” published after his death, it is said, “That Mr. John Penry was a godly, learned, and zealous man, and of a christian carriage and courage. That he was born and bred in the mountains in Wales ; and, with all godly care and labour, endeavoured to have the gospel preached among his countrymen, whose case he greatly seemed to pity, wanting all the ordinary means of salvation. That, being used by God for a special instrument in the manifestation of his truth, he was hardly used, imprisoned,

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xvi. p. 380.

† Ibid. p. 378.

‡ Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

condemned, and executed; and so suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ. And more particularly, that he was adjudged by Sir John Popham, and the rest of the judges, on the 25th of the fifth month, and executed at St. Thomas Waterings, near London, the 29th of the same, in the year 1593. That he was not brought to execution immediately, as most persons expected; but, when they least looked for it, he was taken while he was at dinner, and carried secretly to his execution, and hastily bereaved of his life, without being suffered to make a declaration of his faith towards God, or his allegiance to the queen, though he very much desired it." And in the postscript, it is added, "That he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed for writing the truth of Christ, whatever other things were pretended against him."\* He was undoubtedly a man of great learning and piety; but these excellent qualifications could make no atonement to the prelates for his zeal in the cause of nonconformity, and for expressing his disapprobation of the constitution and corruptions of the established church. "By his death, with the condemnation of John Udal and Henry Barrow," says the Oxford historian, "the neck of the plots of the fiery nonconformists was broken, and their brags were turned into prayers and tears, as the only means for christian subjects."† Another author of the same spirit, says, "The pressing of the law thus close, struck terror into the party, and made the dissenters of all sorts, less enterprizing against the government."‡ These, surely, are pitiful triumphs among professed protestants!

Mr. Penry was author of several learned pieces on controversy, particularly against Dr. Some. In one of them he endeavours to prove "that there is no church at all in popery, and that all popish priests are out of the church," by a direct appeal to the conduct of all protestants in their separation from the church of Rome. "If there be a church in popery, or if all popish priests be not out of the church," says he, "then those magistrates and their subjects who have separated from the Romish religion, to say the least, are *schismatics*. It is schism to make this separation from the church. We may detest the corruptions thereof; but we ought not to make such separation from the church, unless we would be accounted schismatics. But those magistrates and their people who made this separation

\* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 325, 326.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Cellier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 640.



are not schismatics. Therefore the foundation of popery is overthrown, and consequently there is no church in popery." To prove that ministers who do not preach, are not ministers, he reasons thus :—" They are no ministers," says he, " because their ministry is evil and profane ; and their ministry is evil and profane, because there is no mention made of it in the word. A ministry not mentioned in the word, is no ministry, but a profane constitution. The Lord hath expressly set down every ministry of the New Testament, that should be in the church unto the world's end. But he hath not once mentioned the ministry of mere *readers*; because it is not a preaching ministry, and therefore no ministry at all."\*

Dr. Some, it is said, wrote with great vehemence against him. According to my author, " He called this worthy man, *proud Penry*. Penry had a dignity to which Some was a stranger. His dignity stood in a superior habit of thinking : Some's in gown, title, and bluster. Some wrote like a man who meant to bring Penry into hemp, and himself into lawn."†

Mr. Penry felt deeply concerned for the conversion and salvation of his countrymen ; on which account he was anxiously desirous to have a learned ministry in Wales. His laudable desires and endeavours to promote this great object, are applauded even by Dr. Some, his great antagonist.‡ He is supposed to have been the first, since the commencement of the reformation, who preached the gospel in Wales. Some suppose that he laboured in the ministry chiefly in his native country, and that he went thither upon his leaving the university. This, however, appears very improbable. Mr. Thomas intimates, that he was probably the first, since the reformation, who openly and publicly preached adult baptism. " And," says he, " I am inclined to think, that he was the first who administered that ordinance by immersion, and upon a profession of faith, in and about Olchon, in the principality."§ Though Wood denominates him a *notorious anabaptist*, it does not appear from his Confession of Faith, or from any other source of information we have met with, that he ever espoused the sentiments of the baptists. Nevertheless, if what the writer above cited observes, be correct, Mr. Penry was of the

\* Some's Defence, p. 175, 183. Edit. 1588.

† Life of Ainsworth, p. 68.

‡ Some's Godly Treatise, p. 33. Edit. 1588.

§ Thomas's MS. History, p. 43.

denomination of particular baptists. Mr. Strype writes of Mr. Penry with very great acrimony.\* Mr. Foulis, with great injustice and falsehood, says, "He was a man so much guilty of his own villanies, that, with Cain, he feared death from every man's hand; and, therefore, was forced to skulk and ramble amongst his friends for protection."† These accounts of so learned, laborious, and pious a man, remind us of the case of some of the primitive christians, who, being dressed in bears' skins, were cast among wild beasts to be torn in pieces. Mr. Penry was the author of several learned works; but it was never proved that he had any hand in the writings under the title of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. Though most of the high churchmen ascribe them to him and several others, it is well known the real authors were never found out; consequently, the charge is without foundation. The following is supposed to be a correct list of his writings, though we dare not warrant them all to have been his.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Treatise containing the Equity of an Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited unto her Gracious Majesty and this High Court of Parliament, in the behalf of the Country of Wales, that some Order may be taken for the Preaching of the Gospel among those People, 1587.—2. A View of some part of such Public Wants and Disorders as are in the Service of God, within her Majesty's Country of Wales; with an Humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their speedy Redress, 1588.—3. A Defence of that which hath been written in the Questions of the Ignorant Ministry, and the Communicating with them, 1588.—4. Exhortation unto the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the Preaching of the Gospel planted among them, 1588.—5. Dialogue; wherein is plainly laid open the Tyrannical Dealings of the Lords Bishops against God's Children, 1589.—6. Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved, that Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are unjustly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty and the State, 1590.—7. The State of the Church of England.—8. Petition of Peace.—9. His Apology.—10. Of public Ministry.—11. History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, applied to the Prelacy, Ministry, and Church-Assemblies of England, 1609.

**THOMAS GATAKER, A. B.**—He was descended from a very ancient and respectable family at Gatacre-hall, in Shropshire. His parents, who were zealous papists, designed him for the law; for which purpose, he was entered a student at the Temple. While in this situation,

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 346—350.—Annals, vol. iii. p. 611—616.

† Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 61.

he occasionally visited his friends and relations at court, and was often present at the examinations of the pious confessors of truth, under the barbarous severities of popery. The shocking spectacle had the happiest effect on his mind. For, while he beheld the constancy of the sufferers, who, with invincible patience, and for the testimony of a good conscience, endured the most relentless and cruel usage; the tragic scene proved the happy means of awakening his mind, and of leading him to reject popery and embrace the protestant religion. His parents, apprehensive of the change in his opinions, sent him to Louvain, in Flanders; and, to wean him effectually from his new thoughts about religion, settled upon him a considerable estate: but he counted all worldly allurements and advantages as nothing in comparison of Christ. His father at length perceiving him to be immoveable, called him home, and revoked his grant; which, however, could not take effect without his son's consent. Young Gataker counted the cost. He had already learned the hard lesson of self-denial, and of forsaking all for Christ and a good conscience; therefore, he voluntarily gave up that which had been the bait of his apostacy. This was in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary.\*

Mr. Gataker being cast off by his unnatural parents, was enabled to put his trust in the Lord, who, in a very remarkable manner, raised up friends, by whom he was sent to the university of Oxford, and supported by their great generosity. After having spent eleven years in that seat of learning, he entered at Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he continued about four years. In the year 1568, he entered upon the ministerial function, and was ordained both deacon and priest by the Bishop of London; and, in 1576, was admitted vicar of Christ's church, London, which he resigned in 1578, probably on account of his puritanical principles. He became rector of St. Edmunds in Lombard-street, June 21, 1572, but resigned it by death, previous to June 2, 1593, when the next incumbent entered upon the benefice.† He was a minister of puritanical principles, furnished with excellent parts, a zealous preacher, a most conscientious divine, firm in his attachment to the protestant religion, and some time domestic chaplain to the Earl of Leicester. Though he left behind him only a small fortune, he left many friends, particularly among the great men of

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 248, 249.

† Newcourt's Eccl. Repert, vol. i. p. 344.



the law, with whom he had been, in the earlier part of his life, a fellow-student; and who, on that account, were afterwards ready to testify their respect to his memory, by affording their countenance and expressing their kindness to his son.\* His son was the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, another puritan divine, who was first chosen lecturer at the Temple, then minister at Rotherhithe, near London.

ARTHUR WAKE.—This excellent person was son of John Wake, esq. and descended from a very ancient and honourable family. He was canon of Christ's Church in Oxford, and a most popular and useful preacher. In the year 1565, he was preferred to the benefice of Great-Billing, in Northamptonshire;† and several times he preached the sermon at Paul's cross. In one of these sermons, delivered in the year 1573, he boldly defended the sentiments of Mr. Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift, and openly declared his objections against the established church. Bishop Sandys, of London, the very next day, sent a pursuivant to apprehend him; but he had left the city, and returned to Oxford, where his lordship's authority could not reach him. The bishop, meeting with this sore disappointment, wrote to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh and the Earl of Leicester, the latter being at that time Chancellor of Oxford, urging them to take the case into consideration.‡ It does not appear, however, that the two honourable persons were at all disposed to comply with his lordship's solicitations.

Though Mr. Wake escaped the snare of the Bishop of London, he fell, the same year, into the hands of Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough, when he received the ecclesiastical censure. He was rector of the above place; and being cited before the bishop's chancellor, he was first suspended for three weeks, then deprived of his living. Mr. Eusebius Paget,§ and several other worthy ministers, were suspended and deprived at the same time. They were all laborious and useful preachers. Four of them were licensed by the university, as learned and religious divines; and three of them had been chosen moderators in the religious exercises.

The reason of Mr. Wake's deprivation, and that of his brethren, was not any error in doctrine, nor any depravity of life; but because they could not, with a good conscience,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2155, 2156. Edit. 1747.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 407.

‡ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 19. § See Art. Eusebius Paget.

subscribe to two forms devised by the commissioners. In one of these forms, called *forma promissionis*, they were required to subscribe and swear, "That they would use the Book of Common Prayer, and the form of administration of the sacraments, invariably and in all points to the utmost of their power, according to the rites, orders, forms, and ceremonies, therein prescribed; and that they would not hereafter, preach or speak any thing to the degradation of the said book, or any point therein contained."—In the other form, called *forma abjuratōis*, they were required to subscribe and swear, "That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of the ordering of priests and deacons, set forth in the time of King Edward VI. and confirmed by authority of parliament, doth contain in it all things necessary to such consecration and ordering, having in it, according to their judgment, nothing that is either superstitious or ungodly; and, therefore, that they who were consecrated and ordered according to the said book, were duly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordained. And that they acknowledge their duty and obedience to their ordinary and diocesan as to a lawful magistrate under the queen's majesty, as the laws and statutes do require; which obedience they do promise to perform, according as the laws shall bind them. In testimony whereof they do hereunto subscribe their names."\*

Mr. Wake and his brethren, refusing to be tied by these fetters, offered to use the Book of Common Prayer and no other, and promised not to preach against it before the meeting of the next parliament; but they apprehended both the subscription and the oath to be contrary to the laws of God and the realm. In these painful circumstances, being all deprived of their livings, they appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he rejected their appeal. Upon this, having suffered deprivation about two years, they presented a supplication to the queen and parliament; in which, after presenting an impartial statement of the tyrannical oppressions under which they laboured, they give the following reasons for refusing the subscription and the oath:—"That they should thereby have allowed, contrary to their consciences, that it was lawful for women to baptize children:—That they would have exposed themselves to much danger:—That any man, though ever so unable to preach the word, might be made a minister, according to

\* MS. Register, p. 198.

the said book :—And that they should have given their consent to the unlawful form of ordination, wherein are these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.*” They conclude by expressing their concern for their bereaved flocks, and how desirous they were of being restored to their former labour and usefulness, earnestly soliciting the favour of the queen, and the lords and commons in parliament.\*

Though the case of these pious divines was deserving the utmost compassion, they could not obtain the least redress. They had wives and large families of children, now reduced to extreme poverty and want, and, as they expressed in the above supplication, if God in his providence did not interfere, they should be obliged to go a begging; yet they could procure no relief. The distress of these zealous and laborious servants of Christ, was greatly increased by the ignorance and insufficiency of their successors. They could scarcely read so as to be understood, and the people were left in a great measure untaught. Instead of two sermons every Lord’s day, which each of them had regularly delivered, the new incumbents did not preach more than once in a quarter of a year, and frequently not so often. The numerous parishioners among whom they had laboured, signed petitions to the bishop for the restoration of their former ministers; but all to no purpose. They must subscribe and take the oath, or be buried in silence.†

It does not appear how long Mr. Wake remained under the ecclesiastical censure, or whether he was ever restored to his benefice. He was living in the year 1593, and at that time minister at St. John’s Hospital in Northampton.‡ He was a divine of good learning, great piety, and a zealous, laborious, and useful preacher. He was father to Sir Isaac Wake, a learned and eloquent orator at Oxford, afterwards ambassador to several foreign courts, and a member of parliament.§

**WILLIAM WHITAKER, D. D.**—This most celebrated divine was born at Holme, in the parish of Burnley, in Lancashire, in the year 1547, and descended from an ancient and a respectable family. His mother was Elizabeth Nowell, sister to Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul’s, who married Thomas Whitaker, in 1530, and survived her

\* MS. Register, p. 202.

† Ibid. p. 198, 199.

‡ Bridges’s Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 457.

§ Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 491.



marriage the wonderful period of seventy-six years.\* Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, young Whitaker was sent for to London by the dean his uncle. He was by this means taken from his parents, by whom he had been nursed in the superstitions of popery, and trained up in the public school founded by Dr. Colet, who was Nowell's pious predecessor. There he so profited in good literature, and gave such presages of his excellent endowments, that at the age of eighteen, his pious kinsman sent him to the university of Cambridge, and he was admitted into Trinity college; where his further progress being answerable to his beginning, he was first chosen scholar, then fellow of the house. He soon procured high esteem and great fame by his learned disputations and other exercises, which were performed to the great admiration of the most eminent persons in that seat of learning.+ He was a person of extraordinary talents and uncommon application, and it was his general practice, and that of several other eminent persons of his time, to stand while employed in study.‡

As a proof of his great proficiency, and as a token of gratitude to his generous kinsman, he translated Nowell's Catechism into Greek, which he performed with the greatest accuracy, and presented it to him. He, at the same time, translated into Latin the English Liturgy, and Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, by which he obtained a distinguished reputation.§ Indeed, his great fame was not confined to the learned in Cambridge; but having taken his various degrees with great applause in that university, he was incorporated doctor in divinity at Oxford.||

Upon the preferment of Dr. William Chadderton to the bishopric of Chester, our learned divine succeeded him in the office of regius professor in the university of Cambridge. He was, indeed, very young for such a place; yet, on account of his great literary accomplishments, he was unanimously chosen to this high office, though some

\* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 64.—Dean Nowell was prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, in 1562, when the articles of religion were agreed upon. In 1564, when the debates ran high about the use of the clerical garments, he discovered great moderation. He consented to the use of them, but with a protestation that he wished them taken away, for the following reasons:—1. "For fear of the abuse they might occasion.—2. To express more strongly a detestation of the corruptions and superstitions of the papists.—3. For a fuller profession of christian liberty.—4. To put an end to the disputes among brethren."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 3258. Edit. 1747.

† Knight's Life of Colet, p. 397. Edit. 1724.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 99.

§ Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 814.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 744.

were much vexed to see a man, whom they deemed unfit for the situation, preferred before those who were more advanced in years. He no sooner entered upon his official duties, in the delivery of public lectures, than he gave the most perfect satisfaction to all his hearers. There was in him nothing wanting which could be found in the best divine, and the most accomplished professor. He at once discovered much reading, a sharp judgment, a pure and easy style, with sound and solid learning, by which his fame spread in every direction, and multitudes resorted to his lectures, and reaped from them incalculable advantage.\*

To qualify himself for these public exercises, he directed his studies, with uncommon application, to all the useful branches of human learning. He was a great proficient in the knowledge of philosophy. With uncommon diligence he studied the sacred scriptures, to which he invariably appealed, not only in matters of faith, but in the determination of all doubts and controversies. He turned over most of the modern commentators and faithful interpreters of the word of God. With incredible industry, and in the space of a few years, he read over most of the fathers, both Greek and Latin. He attended to his studies with the greatest regularity, and appointed himself every morning what exercises he should pursue during the day; and if he was at any time interrupted in his engagements, he always protracted his studies to a late hour, and so deprived himself of his natural rest and sleep, in order to finish his appointed task. By this course of labour and watching he very much increased in learning, but greatly impaired his health, which he never after perfectly recovered.

In the public exercises in the schools, his great learning and singular eloquence gained the admiration of all his auditors. When he read in rhetoric and philosophy, he seemed to be another Basil; when he catechised, another Origen; and when he preached his *Conceio ad Clerum*, it abounded with sanctity and all kinds of learning. In the office of professor, he delivered public lectures first upon various select parts of the New Testament, then he entered upon the controversies between the papists and protestants. He first encountered the vain-glorious Campian, who set forth his ten arguments, proudly boasting that he had utterly ruined the protestant religion. Whitaker so learnedly and so completely refuted the haughty Jesuit,

\* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 816.

that all his boasting vanished into smoke. Afterwards came forwards Dury, another Jesuit, who undertook to answer Whitaker, and to vindicate Campian. As Campian had set forth his work with great ostentation and youthful confidence; so Dury carried on the controversy with much railing and scurrility. Whitaker admitted his opponent to have the pre-eminence in calumny and abuse; but he refuted all his arguments, and discovered all his fallacies, with such good sense and sound judgment, that it is said, "the truth was never more fully cleared by any man." His next antagonist was Nicolas Saunders, who boasted that by forty demonstrative arguments, he had proved that the pope was not antichrist. Whitaker examined these arguments, and answered them with great learning and solidity, retorting many of them upon the author himself. After this, Rainolds, another apostate, pretended to reply, and, with subtilty and malice, represented the English divines to be at variance among themselves; and by this means, he endeavoured to expose protestantism to the greater hatred and contempt. But our learned Whitaker at once perceived, and with great judgment, exposed his crafty insinuations and falsehoods; yet, he declared that the book was so vain and foolish, that he scarcely thought the author worthy of an answer.\*

Dr. Whitaker was afterwards preferred to the mastership of St. John's college, Cambridge, though not without much opposition from the ill-affected in the university, of which Fuller gives the following curious account:—"He was appointed by the queen's *mandamus*; and Dr. Cap-coat, the vice-chancellor, went along with him, being attended by a goodly company, solemnly to induct him to his place, when he met with an unexpected opposition. They could not gain admittance. The gates were shut, partly *manned* and partly *boyed* against him. The vice-chancellor retreated to Trinity college; and after consulting the lawyers, he, according to their advice, created Dr. Whitaker master of St. John's in his own chamber, by virtue of the queen's mandate. This done, he re-advanceth to St. John's, and with a *POSSE ACADEMIÆ*, demands admission. The Johnians having intelligence by their emissaries, that the property of the person was altered, and Dr. Whitaker invested with the mastership, and knowing the queen would

\* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 15—17.



maintain her power from her crown to her foot, took wit in their anger, and received him.”\*

Notwithstanding the above opposition, the new master, by his clemency, his equity, and his goodness, presently overcame their exasperated minds, and turned their enmity and prejudice into love and admiration. He always governed the college with great prudence and moderation, and sacrificed his own interest for the advantage of the public, as appeared by his own frugality and the testimony of those who lived with him. In the choice of scholars and fellows, he was always impartial and unblameable, and would never suffer any corruption to creep into the elections. If he found any who by bribes had endeavoured to buy suffrages, they, however deserving in other respects, of all others, should not be chosen.+ This account of his great integrity, and his particular care in the government of his college, affords a complete refutation of the great neglect, with which he is charged by the insinuation of another historian.‡

Under the mastership of Dr. Whitaker, all worthy scholars and fellows received the encouragement due to their character and desert. He distributed the rewards of learning with an impartial hand; but all indiscreet and improper measures were justly discountenanced. There was only one way to preferment, and that was founded upon merit and real worth. This made the college flourish in sound learning, and swarm in the number of its members. There were no less than thirty-eight fellow-commoners in the house at one time, which, upon a moderate computation, are said to have been more than at any other period since the foundation, or than probably ever will be again. This, for the purpose of their accommodation, led to several considerable enlargements of the college. His learning was not confined to himself: it was diffusive. It spread itself through the whole society; and, by his example, instruction, and encouragement, he raised so much emulation among the fellows, as to make others learned as well as himself. Indeed, the society in his time was looked upon as something more than a private college. He himself, who was no boaster, used to style it a little university.§

Bellarmino, the Romish disputant, growing famous

\* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 96, 97.

† Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 818.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 97.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 217—219.

about this time, and being looked upon by his own party as an invincible champion, Dr. Whitaker undertook to defend the bulwarks of protestantism against the assaults of the popish adversary ; and it is observed, “ that he cut off the head of his antagonist with his own weapons.” The first part of this controversy was concerning the holy Scriptures ; then about the Church, the Councils, the Bishop of Rome, the Ministers, departed Saints, the Church Triumphant, the Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper ; some of which he published ; but he had not leisure to print them all. During the whole controversy, he treated his Romish opponent, not with keen reproach, or under the influence of passion, but as one who sought to promote the truth. Bellarmine being completely silenced, Thomas Stapleton, a superstitious old man, and professor at Louvain, undertook to answer Whitaker, which he performed in a volume sufficiently large, but in most abusive and scurrilous language. Therefore, lest the angry and bigotted old man should seem wise in his own eyes, Whitaker answered him according to his deserts, and in keener language than usual.\*

Dr. Whitaker was a man of the greatest celebrity, and was, for many years, concerned in most of the public transactions in the university of Cambridge. His name is often mentioned by historians, especially by an invaluable collector of scarce and curious information,† as taking a most zealous and active part in promoting the peace and prosperity of this seat of learning. In the year 1580, he was presented by the queen to the chancellorship of St. Paul’s, London, which he resigned in 1587 ; but on what account we cannot learn.‡ In the year 1591, Dr. Goad, provost of King’s college, Cambridge, presented a request to Dean Nowell, in behalf of Dr. Whitaker, that he might be preferred to some more valuable benefit. The venerable dean, anxious to serve his friend and kinsman, forwarded Dr. Goad’s letter, the day he received it, together with one of his own, to the lord treasurer ; reminding his lordship of Dr. Whitaker’s great learning, well known at Cambridge by the productions of his pen in Greek and Latin ; and not unknown to his lordship, to whom several of his works had been dedicated. His fitness for presiding over a learned society had partly appeared, from the quietness and good order which had been established in St. John’s college since he became master ; and as to his circumstances, they

\* Clark’s Eccl. Hist. p. 818.

† Baker’s MS. Collections.

‡ Granger’s Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 213.

were so far from being affluent, that the dean, in consideration of his poverty, had now for two years past taken upon himself the maintenance of one of his sons. This application, however, in behalf of Dr. Whitaker, whatever might be the reason of it, proved unsuccessful.\*

Some of our historians affirm, that this celebrated divine was not a puritan; for which, indeed, they produce very little evidence, or rather no substantial evidence whatever. That which is commonly pleaded for evidence in this case, is Dr. Whitaker's letter to Dr. Whitgift, in which he gives his sentiments with great freedom, concerning Mr. Cartwright and his opinions, as follows:—"I have read," saith he, "a great part of that book (Cartwright's second Reply) which Mr. Cartwright lately published. I pray God I live not, if ever I saw any thing more loosely and almost more childishly written. It is true that for words, he hath great store, and those both fine and new: but for matter, as far as I can judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he doth not only think perversely of the authority of princes, in causes ecclesiastical, but also flieth into the holds of the papists, from whom he would be thought to dissent with a mortal hatred. But in this point he is not to be endured: and in other parts also he borroweth his arguments from the papists. He playeth with words, and is lame in his sentences, and is altogether unworthy to be confuted by any man of learning." Our author adds, that Dr. Whitaker wrote this letter about the time that he began to write against Campian.† And what does the whole of it prove? It is designed to reproach Mr. Cartwright, his book, and his sentiments, and to prove Dr. Whitaker to have been no puritan, of which it certainly contains no substantial evidence. For, admitting the letter to be genuine, it only contains Dr. Whitaker's opinion of Mr. Cartwright and his publication, and no evidence either for or against the puritanism of the writer. But there is some reason to suspect that the letter is a forgery, and devised only to blacken the memory of the puritans. It rests upon the sole authority of Dr. Bancroft, one of the bitterest and most violent of all their enemies; and is said to have been written near the time when Dr. Whitaker united with other learned divines in soliciting Mr. Cartwright to undertake an answer to the Rhemist translation, in which, among other commendations, they addressed him as follows:—"It is not for every one rashly

\* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 322, 323. † Bancroft's Survey, p. 379, 380.



to be thrust forth into the Lord's battles ; but such captains are to be chosen from amongst David's worthies, one of which we acknowledge you to be, by the *former battles undergone for the walls of our city, the church*. We doubt not, if you will enter this war, but that you, fighting for conscience and country, will be able to tread under foot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the tower of David."\*

The former battles which Mr. Cartwright is here said to have undergone for the walls or discipline of the church, and for which he received so high a commendation from Dr. Whitaker and his brethren, were the controversies he had with Dr. Whitgift : but when the same controversies are described by the unworthy pen of Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Whitaker is made to speak the language of keen reproach, both of Mr. Cartwright and of his former battles. How can the two things be reconciled ? Shall we conclude that Whitaker was guilty of such palpable inconsistency ? This was no trait in his character. Did he then completely change his opinion of Cartwright and his controversy, during the short interval of joining in the address to this divine, and writing the foregoing letter to Whitgift ? This would be contrary to numerous facts, as will presently appear. Did he address Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury, merely to flatter him, and procure his favour ? He never lost his favour, and no one was ever less guilty of flattery.

In the year 1589, an assembly was held in St. John's college, Cambridge, of which Dr. Whitaker was master. Mr. Cartwright and many others were present on this occasion, and the meeting was designed to promote a purer form of discipline in the church. At the same time, "divers imperfections in the Book of Discipline were corrected, altered and amended ; and they did not only perfect the said book, but did then and there voluntarily agree, that as many as were willing should subscribe the said Book of Discipline."† Therefore, among the learned divines who subscribed, was the renowned Dr. Whitaker.‡ He is also said to have united with other puritan divines in promoting the reformed discipline, and to have assembled with them for this purpose in their private associations.§

The year following, this learned divine was charged with holding or forming a presbytery in his college, and with

\* See Art. Cartwright.

† Bancroft's Survey, p. 67.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 79.

other unjust accusations, when he went up to London, and wrote the following letter to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university.\*

“ My humble duty to your honourable lordship.

“ I will not complain to your lordship, of those that  
 “ have complained of me ; who, seeing me resolved to come  
 “ up about my necessary defence, and fearing that the  
 “ complaint made concerning a *presbytery* would be easily  
 “ disproved, have devised other matters, which either touch  
 “ me nothing at all, or else are most frivolous; and yet,  
 “ being thus heaped together, seem to be of some weight.  
 “ Although I foresee the inconvenience of a new visitation,  
 “ which is the only thing they shoot at ; yet I fear not any  
 “ course of justice whatsoever; and I do willingly submit  
 “ myself to what order your lordship shall take for due  
 “ trial of these matters. In one thing for a taste, your  
 “ lordship may judge of the rest. I am charged that I lay  
 “ at my brother Chadderton’s, the night before I came up.  
 “ Indeed the truth is, I lay in the college, as I ever do : but  
 “ this was only a slight to bring in some mention of my  
 “ brother, whom they hate as much as me. If it may stand  
 “ with your honour’s good pleasure, to let me have that  
 “ writing that was exhibited against me, I will set down  
 “ mine answer to every particular point, and return the  
 “ same again to your lordship. Thus I humbly take my  
 “ leave. From the Dean of Paul’s house, October 24,  
 “ 1590.

“ Your lordship’s to serve in the Lord,

“ WILLIAM WHITAKER.”

We have not been able to learn what answer Dr. Whitaker gave to the accusations of his enemies, nor how long his troubles continued ; but he most probably obtained his release, and, without much interruption, returned to his wonted exercises in the university. He was a divine who had a correct view of the genuine principles of protestantism, and would appeal to the authority of the holy scriptures alone, in the decision of all religious controversy. “ We may warrantably enough,” says he, “ reject all human testimonies, and insist upon some clear scripture testimony. For this is the constant sense of the catholic fathers, that nothing is to be received or approved in religion, which is not bottomed on the testimony of scripture, and cannot be proved and confirmed out of those sacred writings: and

very deservedly, since the *scripture is the absolute rule of truth*.\* From these generous principles, he was induced, with several other excellent divines, to write against the superstitious and ridiculous practice of bowing at the name of Jesus.† Upon the same generous principles, he was no friend to episcopacy, but a decided advocate for the eldership, which the puritans sought to have established. "Episcopacy," saith he, "was invented by men as a remedy against sin; which remedy many wise and holy men have judged to be worse than the disease itself, and so it hath proved by woeful experience."‡ In his answer to Campian's ten arguments, he says, "A presbyter and a bishop are by divine right the same; and if Arius was an heretic for saying so, Jerome certainly was akin to the same heresy."§ And in his reply to Dury, he avows the same sentiment, saying, "Presbyters being by divine right the same as bishops, might warrantably set other presbyters over the churches."|| He was decidedly of opinion, that all ecclesiastical persons should confine themselves to their ecclesiastical functions, without the exercise of any temporal authority.¶ On these accounts, Mr. Strype very justly observes, that though he was a learned and pious man, a public professor of divinity, and a good writer against the church of Rome; yet "he was no friend to the church of England."\*\*

Dr. Whitaker, Dr. Fulke, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Dod, and other learned puritans, held their private meetings in the university, with a view to their own improvement in a knowledge of the holy scriptures. Our divine married for his first wife, the pious sister of the two famous preachers, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Ezekiel Culverwell, and Dr. Lawrence Chadderton married another sister. For his second wife, he married the grave and pious widow of Mr. Dudley Fenner; and by both of them he had eight children, to whom he gave a religious education.†† "It must be confessed," says Mr. Baker, "he had somewhat of the old leaven," meaning his puritanism. "His marriage into the families of the Culverwells and Fenners, and his acquaintance with Cartwright, Fulke, Chadderton and Dod, might give him

\* Calamy's Defence of Noncon. vol. i. p. 127. Edit. 1703.

† Prynn's Cant. Doome, p. 469.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Leighton's Sion's Plea, p. 18: from Whitaker.

§ Petition of Prelates Examined, p. 15. Edit. 1641.

|| Calamy's Defence of Noncon. vol. i. p. 71.

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xx. This vol. is not paged.

\*\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 355.

†† Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 817.



an insensible bias that way ; yet the meetings he held with these persons, were not intended to introduce a new discipline, but to expound the scripture.\*

In the year 1595, there were many warm disputes about points of christian doctrine. The fire of contention broke out in the university of Cambridge, in which Dr. Whitaker was deeply involved. He shewed himself the zealous advocate of the supralapsarian sentiments, and was warmly opposed by Dr. Baro and others of the same party. To put an end to these disputes, the heads of the university sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal up to Lambeth, for the purpose of consulting with the archbishop, and other learned divines, upon these points ; when they concluded upon nine propositions, commonly called the *Lambeth articles*, to which the scholars in the university were enjoined an exact conformity.†

Dr. Whitaker, during his journey to Lambeth, fell sick, occasioned by his unusual fatigue and want of sleep, and died soon after his return to Cambridge. Through the whole of his affliction, he discovered great submission to the divine will. With holy and happy composure, he said, “ O Lord my God, though thou kill me ; yet, I am sure, that with these eyes I shall see thee ; for in thee do I hope.” To a friend, who asked him one morning how he did, he replied, “ O happy night ! I have not taken so sweet a sleep since my disease fell upon me.” His friend afterwards finding him in a cold sweat, and telling him that signs of death were upon him, he immediately answered, “ Life or death is welcome to me, which God pleaseth ; for death shall be an advantage to me. I desire not to live, but only

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 214. vol. xx.

† These articles were the following :—“ God hath, from eternity, predestinated certain persons to life ; and hath reprobated certain persons unto death.—The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated : but only the good will and pleasure of God.—There is pre-determined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.—Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall inevitably be condemned for their sins.—A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away, in the elect, either finally or totally.—A true believer, that is, one who is endued with justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.—Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.—No man is able to come unto Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him : and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.—It is not in the will or power of every man to be saved.”—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 230—231.

so far as I may do God and his church service;”\* and soon after quietly departed in the Lord, December 4, 1595, in the forty-seventh year of his age, having filled the professor’s chair about sixteen years, and that of master almost nine.

Dean Nowell, in his last will and testament, made the following bequest: “To his cousin, Dr. Whitaker of Cambridge, he gives twenty books of his own choosing:” but the venerable dean survived him some years.+ In the above year he was preferred to a prebendary in the church of Canterbury. He certainly deserved greater preferment, and he stood in need of it; for he died poor, considering the family he left behind him. It was some reproach to the nation, that the two greatest men that ever filled the professor’s chair in the university of Cambridge, should have been no better provided for: these were Dr. Whitaker, and the celebrated Martin Bucer, who was forced to borrow money with his last breath.‡ Dr. Whitaker’s library was very choice and valuable, which the queen designed to obtain for herself, and Archbishop Whitgift wished to procure his numerous and valuable manuscripts. At his death, the college conferred upon him the honour of a public funeral, an account of which is still preserved among the records of the society, where so much is put down for his funeral feast, so much for his tomb, and so much for the other necessary expenses. Mr. Bois delivered a funeral oration at his grave, and the vice-chancellor and public orator or his deputy at St. Mary’s church.§ His corpse was, with very great solemnity and lamentation, carried to the grave, and was interred in the chapel of St. John’s college. Near the place of his interment was a costly monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:||

This Monument is erected  
to the memory of DOCTOR WHITAKER,  
formerly the royal interpreter of Scripture.  
His interpretations were adorned with elegance of language;  
his judgment was acute,  
his method beautiful,  
his memory strong,  
his labours and perseverance invincible,  
and his life most holy.  
With these very rare endowments of mind,  
his candour, virtue, and humility,

\* Clark’s Eccl. Hist. p. 819. + Churton’s Life of Nowell, p. 354, 356.

‡ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 224. § Ibid. p. 221.

|| Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 398.

shone with the greatest splendour.  
 He was a prudent Master of this College  
 more than eight years,  
 being a firm defender of all that was right,  
 and an avenger of whatever was wrong.

Dr. Whitaker, through the whole of his life, both in public and private, discovered great piety and holiness. He was most patient under insults, and easily reconciled to those who injured him. He was very bountiful to the poor; especially to pious and industrious students. He was always modest in giving his judgment upon mens' opinions and actions. Among his friends, he was courteous and pleasant; faithful in keeping secrets; prudent and grave; and always ready to assist them with counsel or money. He was of a grave aspect, a ruddy complexion, a strong constitution, a solid judgment, a liberal mind, and an affable disposition; but that which added the greatest lustre to his character, was his great meekness and humility.\* "He was one of the greatest men his college ever produced; and," says Wood, "the desire and love of the present times, and the envy of posterity, that cannot bring forth a parallel."† "The learned Whitaker," says Leigh, "was the honour of our schools, and the angel of our church; than whom our age saw nothing more memorable. What clearness of judgment, what sweetness of style, what gravity of person, what gracefulness of carriage, was in the man!" "Who ever saw him without reverence!" said Bishop Hall, "or heard him without wonder?"‡ He was styled "the oracle of Cambridge, and the miracle of the world."

It was a maxim with this celebrated divine, "that refreshing the memory was a matter of great importance in every kind of learning, but especially in the most useful parts of it. He therefore read over his grammar and logic once every year.§ He was the greatest champion in the cause of the protestants, even by the confession of Cardinal Bellarmine, who, though he had been so often baffled by him, procured his picture from England, and preserved it in his study. When his friends were introduced to him, he used to point to the picture and say, that though Whitaker

\* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 619, 820.—Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 406.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 213.—Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 744.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 363, 364.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 213.



was an heretic, "he was the most learned heretic he ever read."\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Translation of Nowell's Catechism into Greek.—2. Translation of the English Liturgy into Latin.—3. Translation of Bishop Jewel's Dispute against Harding into Latin.—4. Answer to Edmund Campian his Ten Reasons.—5. A Defence of his Answer against John Durey.—6. A Refutation of Nicolas Saunders his Demonstration, whereby he would prove that the Pope is not Antichrist.—7. A Collection thereto added of ancient Heresies raked up again to make up the Popish Apostacie.—8. A Thesis propounded and defended at the Commencement in 1582, that the Pope is the Antichrist spoken of in Scripture.—9. Answer to William Rainolds against the Preface to that against Saunders in English.—10. A Disputation concerning the Scripture against the Papists of these times, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton.—11. A Defence of the Authority of the Scriptures, against Thomas Stapleton his Defence of the Authority of the Church.—12. Lectures on the Controversies concerning the Bishop of Rome.—13. Lectures on the Controversie concerning the Church.—14. Lectures on the Controversie concerning Councils.—15. A Treatise of Original Sin, against Stapleton's three former books of Justification. The four articles last mentioned were published after the author's death by John Allenson.—16. A Lecture on the first of Timothy, ii. 4. read on February 27, 1594; before the Earl of Essex, and other Honourable Persons.—17. Lectures concerning the Sacraments in general, and the Eucharist and Baptism in particular. This last was taken down by John Allenson, and published by Dr. Samuel Ward.† His "Works" were afterwards collected and published in Latin, at Geneva, in two volumes folio, in 1610.‡

**HENRY ALVEY, B. D.**—This zealous puritan was a learned divine, and fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was tutor to the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, junior, and other excellent divines. During the contention about the visitation of the university, he subscribed to the following protestation, dated February 20, 1587, and found in the Bishop of Ely's register-office:—"I, Henry Alvey, do protest, with dutiful obedience, that, in respect to the oath which I have taken to the college, I dare not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any but of our appointed visitors: and that by my personal appearing and answering, I do not renounce that right or benefit that I may have by them; but that it may be lawful, whensoever just occasion shall be found, to appeal unto them. Which protestation reserved unto

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 303.

† Fuller's *Abel Red.* p. 407, 408.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 744.

me in all and every point, I am most ready and willing to answer.”\*—The year following, upon the severe proceedings against Mr. Francis Johnson, another zealous puritan, he united with upwards of sixty others, all learned men and fellows of the university, in presenting a supplication to Chancellor Burleigh, in behalf of this persecuted servant of Christ.†

Mr. Alvey united with his brethren in their endeavours to promote a more pure ecclesiastical discipline; and when they were apprehended and carried before their spiritual judges, he was one of those who took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered the associations. In the year 1595, when Barret was called to an account for his dangerous sentiments, he was one of the learned divines of St. John's college, who openly declared their disapprobation of his opinions, and their dissatisfaction with his pretended recantation.‡ Towards the close of this year, complaints were brought against him and several others of the fellows, concerning their nonconformity. These complaints, or rather slanderous and false accusations, were laid before Archbishop Whitgift; against which, he justified his conduct, and vindicated his character, at considerable length.§ Though it does not appear what further troubles he endured, he probably found it necessary to leave the university; for he was soon after chosen provost of Trinity college, Dublin; in which office he succeeded the celebrated Mr. Walter Travers.||

Mr. Alvey is called a worthy benefactor to St. John's college, Cambridge. By his last will and testament, he gave, out of a house in Jesus-lane, four nobles, to be annually paid to a Nottinghamshire scholar, living under a fellow; and in default of such scholar, the four nobles to be given to the college one year, and to the tenant another, alternately. He also made some other bequests of a similar kind, for the encouragement of learning and the advantage of learned men in the university.¶

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 92.

† See Art. Francis Johnson.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 27, 28.

§ Ibid. vol. xii. p. 210—213.

|| MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1655. (72.)

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xiii. This vol. is not paged.

**JOHN PRIME, B. D.**—He was born at Oxford, received his grammar learning at Wickham school, and afterwards entered at New College, Oxford, where he took his degrees, and was chosen fellow of the house. Upon his entrance into the sacred function, he became a zealous and popular preacher in the city of his nativity, being much favoured by Dr. Cooper, bishop of Winchester. Afterwards, he became vicar of Adderbury in Oxfordshire, where he was much followed for his edifying way of preaching. The Oxford historian denominates him a noted puritanical preacher.\* He died at Adderbury, in the prime of life, April 12, 1596, and his remains were interred in his own church.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A short Treatise of Sacraments generally, and in special of Baptism and of the Supper, 1582.—2. A Treatise of Nature and Grace, 1583.—3. A Sermon briefly comparing the State of King Solomon and his Subjects, together with the condition of Queen Elizabeth and her People, preached at St. Mary's in Oxon. Nov. 17, 1585, on 1 Kings x. 9.—1585.—4. An Exposition on the Galatians, 1587.—5. The Consolations of David applied to Queen Elizabeth, in a Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxon. Nov. 17, 1588, on Psalm xxiii. 4.—1588.

**RICHARD ALLEN.**—He was minister at Ednam in Lincolnshire, a good preacher, and much beloved, but greatly harassed for nonconformity. In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, he was suspended from his ministerial exercise, for refusing the imposed subscription. There were upwards of twenty others, all ministers in Lincolnshire, suspended at the same time. Having received the ecclesiastical censure, they presented a supplication to the lords of the council, earnestly wishing to procure their favourable mediation; but, probably, without any good effect: the ruling prelates usually remained inflexible. In this supplication, they express themselves as follows:

“For as much, right honourable, as we whose names are underwritten, whom the Lord in rich mercy hath placed over some of his people in Lincolnshire, as pastors to feed them with the word of truth, do humbly beseech your honours to regard the pitiful and woeful state of our congregations in those parts; which being destitute of our ministry, by means of the subscription now generally and

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 247.



strictly urged by the bishops, do mourn and lament. It is well known to all your honours, that an absolute subscription is required through the whole province of Canterbury, to three articles. As to the first and third, relating to her majesty's supreme authority and the articles of religion, we most willingly offer our subscription, as always heretofore we have done ; but cannot be accepted without an absolute subscription to the other, to which we dare not condescend, being all of us unresolved and unsatisfied in our consciences about many points in the Common Prayer. May it further please your honours favourably to consider, that, in refusing an absolute subscription, we do it not out of arrogancy, or singularity, but because we are in doubts about divers weighty matters : and fearing to subscribe as we were urged, we are all suspended from exercising the function of the ministry among our people, to the great damage of their souls, and our great injury. Wherefore, being persuaded that our cause is the cause of Christ and his church, we humbly beseech your honours, that with favour it may be considered. And seeing we cannot be impeached of false doctrine, nor of contempt of her majesty's laws, nor of refusal to use the book of prayer, nor of breeding contention or sedition in the church, we crave that we may be restored to our flocks ; and that with all peace of conscience, we may go forwards in the Lord's work, in our several places. Signed by

“ RICHARD ALLEN,  
JOHN DANIEL,  
THOMAS TRIPLER,  
MR. SHEPHERD,  
HENRY NELSON,  
MATTHEW THOMPSON,  
THOMAS BRADLEY,  
THOMAS FULBECK,  
HUGH TUKE,  
JOSEPH GIBSON,  
JAMES WORSHIP,

JOHN PRIOR,  
CHARLES BINGHAM,  
JOHN SUMMERSCALES,  
ANTHONY HUNT,  
REINOLD GROME,  
WILLIAM MUNNING,  
JOHN WINTLE,  
HUMPHRID. STRAVERS,  
RICH. HOUSWORTH,  
RICH. KELLET.”\*

Though it does not appear how long Mr. Allen remained under the episcopal censure, he was at length restored to his ministry, and was preacher at Louth, in the above county ; but in the year 1596, he was brought into fresh troubles by Judge Anderson. Having sometimes omitted part of the prayers for the sake of the sermon, he was

indicted at the assizes, for not reading them all. He was obliged to hold up his hand at the bar; when Anderson standing up, addressed him with a most fierce countenance. The angry judge, after insinuating that he was guilty of some most grievous crimes, though he mentioned none, oftentimes called him *knave*, and *rebellious knave*, and treated him with many other vile reproaches, not allowing him to speak in his own defence. Under this opprobrious treatment, Mr. Allen behaved himself with all humility and submission; not rendering railing for railing, but the contrary. Anderson in his charge said, that he would hunt all the puritans out of his circuit.

In Mr. Allen's arraignment, one thing was very remarkable. During his trial, some point coming under consideration, wherein *judgment in divinity* was required, the good man referred himself to his ordinary, the bishop, then sitting on the bench; but the judge, with marvellous indignation, interrupted him, saying, *I am your ordinary and bishop too, in this place*, and challenged any one to take his part. He was, indeed, so enraged against the good man, that when Sir George Sampol signified very softly to the judge, that Mr. Allen was an honest man and of a good conversation, his lordship could not help manifesting his displeasure.\* It does not appear what followed this prosecution, or whether Mr. Allen was released. We may see, however, from this instance, as well as many others, that the puritan ministers were set on a level with the vilest criminals, to the great disgrace of their office, and the loss of their reputation and usefulness.

FRANCIS JOHNSON.—This celebrated puritan was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, a very popular preacher in the university, and afterwards a leading person among the Brownists in London. In the year 1588, for a sermon which he preached in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, which was said to contain certain erroneous and dangerous doctrines, he was convened before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Nevil, and the heads of colleges, and committed to prison. The various proceedings of these ecclesiastical rulers engaged the attention of the university for a twelvemonth; and while some warmly approved of the rigorous measures, others severely censured them, as reproachful to a protestant

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 265, 266.

country. His text was 1 Pet. v. 1—4. “The elders which are among you, I exhort, who am also an elder,” &c. That the reader may have a clear and correct view of the whole proceedings, it will be proper to state those erroneous and dangerous positions, said to be collected from his sermon, which were the following :—1. “That the church of God ought to be governed by elders.—2. That a particular form of church government is prescribed in the word of God.—3. That no other form ought to be allowed.—4. That the neglect to promote this government is one chief cause of the present ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience.—5. That we have not this government.—6. That ministers ought to live upon their own cures.—7. That there ought to be an equality among ministers, which the popish hierarchy, and all who belong to it, do not like.—8. That we have an Amaziah among us, who forbiddeth Amos to preach at Bethel : they do not exhort to feed the flock, but hinder those who would.”\*

Admitting that these articles were impartially collected from his sermon, they do not appear to be of any very dangerous tendency, and, therefore, not deserving of any very severe punishment ; but of this every candid reader will judge for himself. Mr. Johnson was commanded to answer them, and declare what he had delivered in his sermon, upon his oath ; which, because he was unwilling to accuse himself, he absolutely refused. He underwent several examinations, and was cast into prison, where he remained a long time. Mr. Cuthbert Bainbrigg, another zealous puritan, and prosecuted on a similar account, was his fellow-prisoner. These two persecuted servants of Christ, after suffering a long and painful imprisonment, laid their case at the feet of Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university, a particular account of which is given in another place.†

Though Mr. Johnson refused to answer upon his oath, lest, as observed above, he should prove his own accuser, he delivered his answer to each of the articles in writing. As these articles are now before me, it will be proper to favour the reader with a sight of them. “That which I spake in my sermon,” says Mr. Johnson, “was the following :

1. “I proved, by divers reasons, that as the church to which Peter wrote, and the other churches then fully established, had, for their instruction and government, this

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 186.—Strype’s Whitgift, p. 296, 299.

† See Art. Cuthbert Bainbrigg.



one uniform and prescribed order of teaching and ruling elders; so the same, by the word of God, are still necessary to the right instruction and government of his churches.

2. "The Apostle Paul having spoken of the ordinances and officers of the church, as of prophesy and others, he concludes, *If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.* Upon this, I said, if they be the commandments of the Lord, then, till repealed, we are to hold them.

3. "When further speaking of elders, seeing God hath set them in his church, I asked, Who hath authority to put them out, and set others in? For they were appointed, not only for a few years, but to be continued to the end of the world. This we see in the apostle's charge, 1 Cor. xii. 28, 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Also our Saviour gave his commission and promise to all his faithful ministers, to the end of the world. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Acts xiii. 36.

4. "When speaking of the necessity of elders, I said, I doubt not that the want of them, seeing they are appointed of God, is the occasion of ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the sabbath, disobedience to superiors, &c. as we find too lamentably proved by experience.

5. "I said, it would be objected, that there is not a sufficient number fit for this office. To which I answered, that many who are fit, are not employed. And inquiring where the fault was, I said, it was not in the Lord, who is most ready to set watchmen upon the walls of his church, which is his city; and to give pastors unto his flock, to feed it with knowledge and understanding. Shall we think that God is not able and willing to qualify men for the ministry of the gospel, as he was Aholiab and Bezaleel for the work of the tabernacle, and Hiram for the temple? Doubtless he is the same God, able and willing: but the fault is in ourselves. If you, indeed, desire that sinners should be awakened and arise from the dead, labour by all means of petition to God, and supplication to those in authority, that Christ Jesus may be heard in our congregations.

6. "Having proved that elders ought to be with their own flocks, and to feed them, I said, that Christ would call those elders to give an account. In the application, I exhorted those who have particular flocks committed to them, and still live in the university, to retire into their

chambers, and examine their hearts before the Lord, and to act according as the case required.

7. "I said, that if Peter had possessed such authority as the papists ascribe to him, he might have *commanded* these elders to do that, which, as a fellow-elder, he *exhorts* them. But he was so far from thinking himself the chief of the apostles, that he accounts himself a *fellow-elder* with the ordinary elders of other congregations. Yet the popish hierarchy accounts otherwise, both of his superiority over the rest of the apostles, and of themselves as bishops of bishops : but we are to like a godly equality.

8. "I shewed, that as it was the duty of all christians, so also of all the ministers of God's word, to exhort and stir up one another. And that this practice of the apostle condemned those, who are so far from exhorting others to feed the flock, that they hinder those who would feed them."\*

His answers, however, gave not the least satisfaction. After repeated examination, and remaining a long time in prison, he was enjoined, October 19, 1589, to make the following recantation :—"Whereas, January 6th, last past, "I taught that our uniformity and prescribed order by "teaching and ruling elders, by the word of God, is "necessary for the teaching and ecclesiastical government "of the church of God, and is the commandment of the "Lord, and to be kept until the appearing of our Lord "Jesus Christ : and seeing God, as the apostle saith, hath "set them to be elders in the church, who hath authority "to set them out or others in ? I therefore being given to "understand, that the said speeches of mine were so "construed by some, as though I had thereby greatly "derogated from her majesty's authority in causes ecclesi- "astical, do now more plainly express my meaning, that I "do not think, that there is set down by the word of God, "any stinted and precise form of external government of "the church, which must of necessity be observed in all "times and places without exception : but am persuaded, "that, for the better government of particular congregations, "her majesty may establish such orders, as, by her godly "wisdom, with the advice of her godly and learned prelates, "she shall find most expedient for the state of her country, "according to her majesty's pre-eminence in the church "established by the laws of the realm, and expressed in

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 267—269.

“ her most just title, which is most agreeable to the word of  
 “ God, and conformable to the example of most ancient  
 “ churches, which have been ruled by christian magistrates.

“ And whereas I did affirm the want of elders (being the  
 “ ordinary means appointed by God) to be the cause of  
 “ ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the sabbath,  
 “ and disobedience to superiors; and these words of mine  
 “ seemed to some, injurious to the present state of the  
 “ church and commonwealth of the land and magistrates  
 “ of them both, as not having care so to establish the  
 “ government as might root out such great enormities: for  
 “ the better explanation of my mind on this subject, I  
 “ cannot say of my certain knowledge, that these vices are  
 “ more abounding here in our churches than in such  
 “ churches where elders are at this day placed. And I am  
 “ of opinion that her majesty, and such as are in authority  
 “ under her, have by wholesome laws provided against  
 “ such evils.”\*

Mr. Johnson was required to make the above ridiculous recantation in the pulpit of St. Mary's church; and because he performed it “ in mincing terms, and did not fully revoke his opinions,” according to the form given him, he was, October 30th, in the above year, expelled from the university: and because he did not depart from the place, he was, December the 18th, again cast into prison.+ By the recommendation of Burleigh the chancellor, he made an appeal to the university against these illegal and cruel proceedings, and wrote a long and excellent letter to the chancellor, of which the following is a copy:

“ To the right honourable the Lord Burleigh.

“ I came hither to Cambridge, as I was by your lordship advised, to follow my appeal to the university. I went in a quiet manner to Mr. Vice-chancellor and to Dr. Bying, to desire that either some law might be shewed to cut off my appeal, or else my appeal not hindered, further than was alleged by your lordship; which I then answered, there hath been no one clause of law shewed me, sufficient to debar me from the benefit of appeal. I requested the proctor to prosecute my appeal, and to procure delegates to be chosen according to the statute, which was all I could here do. And now not only have I profited nothing, but being called before Mr. Vice-chancellor and the heads, the 18th of the present month, I was there, (for any thing I



heard,) by the sole authority of the vice-chancellor, charged the next day to depart the university, except I would there desire some longer respite for the ridding away of my stuff. Whereunto I making answer, that I waited for the prosecution of my appeal made to the university, which depending, I was by law to remain in state as before. I was again required to answer whether I would depart the next day, or ask respite for the removal of my stuff: whereunto I answering that I was not so minded to let fall my appeal, and was by the vice-chancellor committed to close prison, without bail or mainprize, until such time as I would yield to let fall my appeal, and give over my title to the university and to my fellowship; where I did continue three days in the Tolbooth, in a close and cold corner, straitly kept, that none of my friends might come at me, nor comfort come to me from them. And now, because of the extremity of the weather, I am removed to the bailiff of the Tolbooth's house, with most strait charge, that none at all are suffered to come unto me.

“Neither doth this most violent dealing only fall upon me. But I beseech your lordship also to consider, whether the sovereign authority of our gracious queen (whom God long continue among us with much glory) be not impugned, by making themselves without, nay against law and statute, *supreme judges* and *governors* not to be appealed from; the honourable protection of your lordship over us trampled under their feet, by most straitly imprisoning me, for that which your lordship permitted and advised me to do; and the express statute of our whole university by all violence broken and disannulled, for the maintaining of their own indiscreet and unlawful proceedings. And, touching myself and my cause at this time, I most humbly beseech your lordship also to consider, what injustice it is to wring from me by violence and forcible imprisonment, in more strait manner than is usual to felons, and like malefactors, that which by law I might rightfully maintain.

“To God, who judgeth right, I commit my cause, being in myself persuaded, and rejoicing, that I have received honour to suffer for the truth of the eternal God; which at first and now still, they persecute in me the unworthiest of the servants of God. O, my God! look down from heaven: stay the fury of men: strike thy fear into their hearts, that they may consider their last end.

“Now to your lordship, I, a poor prisoner, overthrown by the power of mine adversaries in a just cause, being put

out of doubt that here I shall find no more justice, the proctor being checked for dealing in my appeal, and threatened to be called to his answer, do most instantly in God's behalf, and for righteous dealing, beg and beseech you to take my cause to your lordship's hearing, and to rescue me from this grievous imprisonment, which, undeservedly, the Lord of heaven knoweth, I sustain. I do appeal unto your lordship's wisdom, justice and authority, as being honourable chancellor of this our university. The Lord give me favour in the sight of your honour, and the Lord move your honour's heart to have compassion on my calamity. Unto his will and wisdom I humbly submit myself, and my cause, making my humble prayer to Almighty God, to endue your lordship with godly wisdom and zeal for his glory, both in this and all other causes.

“Your honour's humble supplicant,

“FRANCIS JOHNSON.

“Cambridge, December 22, 1589.”\*

Two supplications, subscribed by sixty-eight scholars, all fellows of the university, were at the same time presented to Burleigh, in behalf of Mr. Johnson and his appeal. In the latter, dated December 23, 1589, they observe, that the privileges granted by the queen's majesty, and the statutes of the university, were violently torn from them, by those who ought to have shewn them a better example; and then add,—“Mr. Francis Johnson, a man whose cause and estate, by reason of his long trouble and other grievances, are well known unto your lordship, being prohibited by Mr. Vice-chancellor and some others from presenting his lawful appeal to the university, made and intimated to the proctor, according to statute, from the sentence of expulsion given by the late vice-chancellor; and not finding any means here to help himself, repaired unto your honour for succour, and was, as we understand, remitted to the university, to which he had appealed. Now since his last return, Mr. Vice-chancellor that now is, citing him before the heads, charged him to depart the university; but he still challenging the benefit of his appeal, was by the vice-chancellor committed to close prison without bail or mainprize. We doubt not that your lordship soon perceiveth how unequal it is that the parties, from whom the appeal was made, should be judges whether the appeal be lawful or not: as also how the statute of appeal is utterly made void, if for appealing

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 85, 86.

the vice-chancellor may commit to prison him that resteth not in his sentence. For of the close prison, without bail, we say nothing, leaving it to your lordship's wisdom, and to the laws of the land: we do not deny that our hearts are greatly moved with this strange example of extraordinary violence and extremity. Our great grief and distress of heart hardly suffereth to make any end of complaining, and what to ask of your lordship we well know not; but we beseech the Lord our God to affect your honour's heart, with a tender compassion of the great affliction of this our dear brother and faithful servant of God, Mr. Johnson."\*

Among those who subscribed the two supplications, are the names of William Perkins, Thomas Brightman, and Anthony Wotton, all divines of great celebrity in their day. Indeed, the most pious and learned men in the university disapproved of the above illegal and inhuman proceedings; and Dr. Goad, provost of King's college, Dr. Whitaker, master of St. John's college, and Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, all protested against them.† We do not find, however, that these supplications and protestations were at all effectual. How long Mr. Johnson remained under his barbarous confinement, we have not been able to learn; but, as he failed to obtain redress, he, being wearied by the fatigue of the prison, most probably consented to leave the university. A divine of his name, and probably the subject of this narrative, subscribed the "Book of Discipline."‡

The tyrannical and cruel persecution of the puritans, instead of bringing them to conformity, only drove them further from the established church. They could not in conscience comply with such measures, nor much less could they approve of a church fighting with such weapons. Therefore, at this period, many pious and learned persons were driven to a total separation from the ecclesiastical establishment, among whom was Mr. Johnson, who espoused the sentiments of the Brownists, and joined their congregation which assembled privately in and about London. About the year 1592, the members of this congregation, having become rather numerous, formed themselves into a church; when Mr. Johnson was chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, Mr. John Greenwood, doctor or teacher, Messrs. Bowman and Lee, deacons, and Messrs. Studly and Kinaston, elders. The whole of this service

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 87, 88.

† Ibid. p. 85.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.



was performed in one day, at the house of Mr. Fox in Nicholas-lane. At the same time, seven persons were baptized, without godfathers or godmothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their faces with water, and pronouncing the form, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father," &c. The Lord's supper was also administered in the following manner: five white loaves being set upon the table, the pastor implored the blessing of God; and after breaking the bread, he delivered it to part of the company, and the deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting around the table, using the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24, *Take, eat, &c.* In like manner he gave the cup, saying, *This cup is the New Testament, &c.* At the close, they sung an hymn, and made a collection for the poor. Afterwards, when any one entered into the church, he made this single protestation or promise, "That he would walk with them, so long as they walked in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the word of God."\*

This congregation, of which Mr. Johnson was pastor, was obliged, in order to avoid the bishops' officers, to meet in different places, and sometimes in the dead of the night; but was at length discovered on a Lord's day at Islington, in the very place in which the protestant congregation met in the reign of Queen Mary. About fifty-six persons were taken into custody, and sent, two by two, to the different prisons about London, where several of their friends had been confined a considerable time. Upon their examination, they acknowledged that they had met in the fields, in the summer season, by five o'clock on a Lord's day morning, and in winter in private houses; that they continued all the day in prayer and expounding the scriptures, dined together, and afterwards made collection for their food, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison; and that they did not use the Lord's prayer, apprehending that our Saviour did not intend it to be used as a form, after the pouring out of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost.† Also, during their imprisonment, their adversaries having charged them with holding many extravagant opinions concerning baptism, marriage, lay-preaching, and other particulars, they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious reply, shewing how far they were falsely accused.‡

Though it does not appear whether Mr. Johnson was apprehended and cast into prison at the same time with the

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 175.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 579.

‡ MS. Register, p. 850—855.

congregation; yet, during the present year, both he and Mr. John Greenwood, were seized by Archbishop Whitgift's pursuivants, without warrant, at a certain citizen's house in Ludgate-hill; and in the midst of the night, after the pursuivants had searched all the chests, boxes, and other private places in the house, they were carried to the Compter, and the next day Whitgift and the other high commissioners committed them to close prison.\*

Mr. Johnson underwent many examinations before his ecclesiastical inquisitors; and though he absolutely refused the oath *ex officio*, he confessed, April 5, 1593, "That he was first taken in an assembly in St. Nicholas-lane, and committed to the Compter in Wood-street; that afterwards he was apprehended in Mr. Boys's house," (as mentioned above,) "and committed to prison by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others; and that he had been twice examined before the Lord Chief Justice and Lord Anderson." Being asked how long he had held the opinions of the Brownists, he said, he could not definitely answer, but signified that he had been committed to prison four years before, for a sermon delivered in St. Mary's church, Cambridge. He confessed, that he had baptized divers children in the congregation; but, as to marriage, he did not account it an ecclesiastical service, or at all belonging to the ministerial function. He observed, that it was not indispensably requisite to use the very words of the Lord's prayer; and that the Lord's supper was not to be confined to any particular time, but might be received at any time of the day or night, when the congregation is assembled and prepared for it. Being required to shew in what places they had assembled, he refused to answer; and being asked whether he possessed or had possessed any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books, he also desired to be excused making any reply. When he was asked whether he had not persuaded others to the assembly of the congregation of which he was pastor, and how many he had so persuaded; he said, he had done, and must do, that which God, according to his holy word, required of him; but refused any further answer. And being asked whether he would reform himself, and attend upon the service of the parish church, he refused to give a direct answer; but said, he could not join in the ecclesiastical ministry and state of archbishops, bishops, parsons, vicars, &c. &c.†

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 96. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 33, 34.

Mr. Johnson, having lain in close confinement fourteen months, wrote a letter to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, entreating his compassionate influence to procure for him and his fellow-prisoners, a friendly conference, that their real sentiments might be known, and that all impartial men might judge whether they deserved such hard treatment. In this letter, he observes, "That his brother George had been confined eleven months in the Clink.\* And," says he, "when our poor old father applied to Justice Young, for us to have the liberty of the prison, he and the Dean of Westminster, would have sent him to prison, had not Justice Barnes interposed and prevented them.—We are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. We suffer these things only for refusing to have communion with the antichristian prelacy; and for labouring, in a holy and peaceable manner, to obey the Lord Jesus Christ in his ministry and worship, as prescribed in his last Testament, and sealed with his own precious blood. If we err in these things, prisons and the gallows are no fit means to convince and persuade our consciences: but rather a quiet and godly conference, or a discussion of the matter by writing, before equal and impartial judges. This we have often sued for, but could never yet obtain. We now, therefore, in a humble manner, solicit your lordship to procure this for us. Not that we doubt the truth of our cause. We are fully persuaded of this from the word of God, and are ready, by the grace of God, to seal it with our own blood. But we desire it, that the truth being discovered and made manifest, the false offices, callings, livings, and possessions of the prelacy, might be converted to her majesty's use, as were not long since the livings of the abbots, monks, and friars in these dominions; and that by these means the gospel of Christ may have free course, and the peace of the church be promoted." In the conclusion, he subscribes himself, "pastor of that poor distressed church, and still a close prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ."†

Inclosed in this letter, Mr. Johnson sent a paper to the treasurer, signifying, that, for his writings, he was in no

\* Mr. George Johnson, member of the Brownist congregation, late schoolmaster in St. Nicholas-lane, London, born at Richmond in Yorkshire, was convened, April 2, 1593, before the high commission, when he underwent an examination, but refused to take the oath. He had at that time been some weeks a prisoner in Newgate, and had already undergone several examinations before the Bishop of London and others.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xv. p. 107.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 133—136.



danger of the statute of 35 Eliz. "To retain the queen's subjects in their due obedience." In this paper, he professedly acquits himself on the following grounds :

1. He had only inquired of the prelates and ministers, whether her majesty, with the consent of parliament, might not abolish the present prelacy and ministry of the church, and transfer their revenues and possessions to her own civil uses, as her father, Henry VIII., did with abbots, monks, and others, and their livings.

2. His writings are only in defence of such doctrines of Christ as are against the canonical function of the pope, and were professed by the holy martyrs of Christ, accounted lollardy and heresy : as, for instance, John Wickliffe held, that archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, &c. were disciples of antichrist.

3. If the statute of 35 Eliz. be against such writings and books as reprove the ecclesiastical ministry and government of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, &c. then the writing and the printing of the confessions of the reformed churches of Helvetia, Tigur, Geneva, &c. wherein they write, that archprelates, metropolitans, archpriests, deans, subdeans, and others of the same kind, pass not a rush. And the confessions of the reformed French and Belgick churches say, that the church ought to be governed by pastors, elders, and deacons, as Christ hath appointed.

4. In his writings, he hath proved his assertions by the word of God, which her majesty protesteth and defendeth ; and they are written in defence of the liberty and privilege of the church of Christ, which the great charter of England granteth and preserveth inviolable.

5. If all who forsake the communion of the established church, be in danger of this statute ; then any one forsaking the church, and joining the French, Dutch, or Italian churches, allowed by her majesty in London, Norwich, or Sandwich, would also incur the penalty of this statute.

6. He never maliciously persuaded any to abstain from the church, much less to deny, withstand, or impugn her majesty's authority.

7. He never did, obstinately, and without lawful cause, but upon conscience, grounded upon the word of God, and approved by the confessions of the reformed churches, and the faithful servants and martyrs of Christ, refuse to hear, and have communion with the ministry of the church as now established.

8. He, having been a close prisoner a long time before the said statute was made, cannot be lawfully convicted of having broken it.\*

These reasons, however, prevailed not. Whether the treasurer made any use of them, we are not able to learn. But Mr. Johnson was brought to trial; and though his crime was merely that of writing against the established church and the oppressions of the prelates, and was committed even *some time before the statute was made*, he was found guilty by the said statute, and condemned to perpetual banishment from his country. Messrs. Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, and some others, having suffered death on account of their firm attachment to their religious sentiments, Archbishop Whitgift and the other ruling prelates, who were the chief promoters of these barbarous proceedings, became, at length, ashamed of hanging men for propagating their religious principles, and contrived this engine to have the Brownists and other puritans swept out of the land. This act, therefore, condemned them to banishment without discrimination; and the gaols were soon cleared of them. Yet the overbearing, tyrannical prelates took care to have them filled again in the following year.†

Mr. Johnson being condemned to suffer perpetual banishment, retired to Amsterdam, many of his friends accompanying him. There he formed a church after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr Henry Ainsworth for its doctor or teacher. The grand principle on which this church was founded, may be expressed in Mr. Johnson's own words. "The church," says he, "ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classis, customes, or any human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his Testament."‡ "Every particular church, with its pastors, stands immediately under Christ, the arch-pastor, without any other ecclesiastical power intervening; whether it be of prelates, synods, or any other invented by man."§ In 1598, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth drew up a confession of their faith in Latin, which they dedicated to the universities of St. Andrews, Leyden, Heidelberg, Geneva, and the other universities of Scotland, Holland, Germany, and France. It was afterwards translated into English, and does not differ much in doctrine from the "Harmony of Confessions."||

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 137, 138.

† Ainsworth's Counterpoysion, p. 40.

‡ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 35.

§ Paget's Church Gov. p. 211.

|| Life of Ainsworth, p. 18.

Although Mr. Johnson was a learned and religious man, he was rigid in his principles;\* and his people entertaining discordant sentiments, it was not long before they split into parties. That which first occasioned this dissention was Mr. Johnson's marriage to a widow of competent fortune, whom his brother George Johnson and his father thought an improper match in those times of persecution. George Johnson represents her as addicted to luxurious living, excess of finery in dress, and a lover of ease. Frequent disputes, therefore, took place from 1594, the time of marriage, till about 1598, when George Johnson, his father, and some other members who adhered to them, were cut off from the church, chiefly on account of their behaviour in this affair. The greater part, among whom was Mr. Ainsworth,† took part with Francis the pastor. Much reproach has, by various writers, been cast upon them on account of this censure.‡ The excommunication of a brother and an aged father, appears an harsh and unnatural proceeding: however, the grounds, circumstances, and ends of it, should be examined before we condemn what was done. Most probably the censure was by the suffrage of the church, and appeared to a majority of its members, to be according to the will of God; and, therefore, they preferred the will of God, more than any natural affection, and regarded the spiritual welfare of those whom they cast out, more than any temporal ease or advantage. Mr. Johnson says, "Those whom we have cast out, it hath been partly for revolting from the truth, to the corruptions of other churches, and partly for other sins."§ And Mr. Ainsworth says, "That George Johnson and his father were cast out for lying, slandering and contention."||

Mr. Neal confounds this unhappy controversy with another which happened many years afterwards, between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, about matters of discipline.¶ Mr. Johnson placed the government of the church in the eldership alone; Ainsworth in the whole church, of which the elders are a part. The event, accord-

\* Bishop Hall charges him with saying, "That the ministry and worship of the church of England were taken out of the whore's cup. He styles our church, the daughter of Babylon, the mother of whoredoms and abominations; and says, that the constitution, worship, and government, are directly antichristian."—*Apologie against Brownists*, p. 742. Edit. 1614.

† See Art. Ainsworth.

‡ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 15.

§ Ibid. p. 37.

|| Life of Ainsworth, p. 30.

¶ Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. ii. p. 44, 45.



ing to the opinion of some,\* was, that Johnson excommunicated Ainsworth and his part of the church, and that Ainsworth returned the compliment upon the opposite party: but for the latter charge there appears no foundation.† On the contrary, Mr. John Cotton, who was no Brownist, but was contemporary with Ainsworth and Johnson, and lived among those who had been concerned in this affair, observes, “That Mr. Ainsworth and his company did not excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his party, but withdrew, when they could no longer live peaceably together.”‡ Ainsworth and those who adhered to him, held a separate assembly at Amsterdam, and the two congregations were afterwards distinguished as Johnsonian and Ainsworthian Brownists.§ But Mr. Johnson and his friends, at length, removed to Embden, where he afterwards died, and his congregation dissolved.

In the year 1599, there was a long controversy carried on in print, between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Henry Jacob, concerning certain tenets of the Brownists. The same year the whole was collected and published at Middleburgh, by Mr. Johnson, consisting of ninety-one quarto pages, entitled, “A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England, against the reasons and objections of Maister Francis Johnson, and others of the separation commonly called Brownists. In two Treatises. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries.” In one of these treatises is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raised by the Brownists against the church of England; from which we may gather a much more complete account of their tenets and doctrines, than from any thing else ever published; and it is truly authentic, because it was written by one of the leaders of the Brownists. It is called, “Antichristian Abominations yet retained in England,” and enumerates the following particulars:

“The confusion of all sorts of people in the body of

\* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 15.

† Life of Ainsworth, p. 31, 33.

‡ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 6.

§ The Johnsonian Brownists commenced a suit, it is said, against the Ainsworthians, for the meeting-house granted to the Brownists at Amsterdam. The Johnsonians pleaded that it belonged to them, being the ancient Brownists, to whom it was originally given: but the Ainsworthians, on the contrary, pleaded it was theirs, seeing they were the true Brownists, holding the ancient faith of that church, from which the Johnsonians are said to have apostatized. How far this account is correct, or how this dispute was ended, we are not able to learn.—*Paget's Heresiography*, p. 67, 68.

their (the English) church; even the most polluted, and their seed, being members thereof.—Their ministration of the word, sacraments, and government of the church, by virtue of antichristian officers.—The titles of primate, metropolitan, lords, grace, lordship, &c. ascribed to the prelates.—The inferior prelates swearing obedience to the metropolitical sees of Canterbury and York.—The inferior ministers, when they enter into the ministry, promising obedience to the prelates, and their ordinances; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming with an oath.—The deacon's and priest's presentation to a lord bishop, by an archdeacon.—Their receiving orders of the prelates, or their suffragans.—Their pontifical, or book of consecrating bishops, and of ordering priests and deacons, taken out of the pope's pontifical, where their abuse of scripture to that end, their collects, epistles, &c. may be seen.—Their making, and being made, priests, with blasphemy; the prelates saying to those whom they make priests, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, &c.*—Their confounding of civil and ecclesiastical offices and authorities in ecclesiastical persons.—Their retaining and using in their public worship the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blasphemies, and contradictions to canonical scriptures.—Their stinted prayers and liturgy, taken out of the pope's mass-book, with the same order of psalms, lessons, collects, pater-nosters, epistles, gospels, versicles, responds, &c.—The cross in baptism.—The hallowed font, and questions to the infants in baptism.—The godfathers and godmothers promising that the child doth believe, forsake the devil and all his works, &c.—Women's baptizing of children; which maintaineth that heresy, that the children are damned which die unbaptized.—Their *howseling* the sick, and ministering the communion to one alone. The ministering it, not with the words of Christ's institution, but with others taken out of the pope's portuis.—They sell that sacrament for two-pence to all comers.—The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nourisheth that heresy of receiving their Maker, of worshipping it, &c.—Their ring in marriage, making it a sacramental sign, and marriage an ecclesiastical action; thereby nourishing the popish heresy, that matrimony is a sacrament.—Their praying over the dead, making it also a part of the minister's duty, and nourishing the heresy of prayer for the dead.—Their churching or purifying of women, then also abusing that

scripture, *The sun shall not burn them by day, nor the moon by night.*—Their Gang-week,\* and then praying over the corn and grass.—Their forbidding of marriage in Gang-week, in Advent, in Lent, and on all the Ember-days; which the apostle calleth a *doctrine of devils*, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3.—Their saints, angels and apostles' days, with their prescript service.—Their fasts, and abstaining from flesh, on their eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, and all the days of Lent.—Their dispensations from the prelates' courts of faculties to eat flesh at these times.—Their dispensations to marry in these times forbidden.—Licenses from the same authority to marry in places exempt.—Dispensations also from thence for boys and ignorant fools to have benefices.—Dispensations also for nonresidents.—For having two, three, four, or more benefices.—Tolerations.—Patronages of, and presentations to, benefices, with buying and selling advowsons.—Their institution into benefices by the prelates, their inductions, proxies, &c.—Their suspensions, absolutions, degradations, deprivations, &c.—The prelates, chancellors, commissioners' courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to absolve.—Their penance in a white sheet.—Their commutation of penance, and absolving one man for another.—The prelate's confirmation, or bishopping of children, to assure them of God's favour, by a sign of man's devising.—The standing at the gospel.—The putting off the cap, and making a leg, when the word Jesus is read.—The ring of peals at burials.—Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.—The hanging and mourning of churches and hearses with black at burials.—Their absolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they say, Christian burial.—The idol temples.—The popish vestments, as rocket, horned cap, tippet, the surplice, and the cope.—The visitations of the lord-bishops and archdeacons.—The prelates' lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue.—The priests' maintenance

\* Gang-week, or rogation-week, was that particular season of the year, in which, according to popish custom, was observed "the perambulation of the circuits of parishes." Queen Elizabeth retained the same practice, and enjoined, "That the people should once a year, at the accustomed time, with the minister and substantial men of the parish, walk round the parish as usual, and at their return to church make the common prayers; provided that the minister, at certain convenient places, shall admonish the people to give thanks to God for the increase and abundance of the fruits of the earth, repeating the 103d Psalm; at which time also the minister shall inculcate this and such like sentences, *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark.*"—Sparrow's Collection, p. 73.



by tithes, Christmas offerings, &c.—The oaths *ex officio* in their ecclesiastical courts, making men swear to accuse themselves.—The churchwarden's oath to present to the prelates all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their parishes against their articles and injunctions.—The prelates ruling the church by the pope's cursed canon law.—Finally, their imprisoning and banishing such as renounce and refuse to witness these abominations aforesaid, and the rest yet retained among them.”\*

As our author very justly observes, they might well find fault with the church in the article last mentioned, since they had smarted so severely under it. The foregoing particulars contain the general principles of the Brownists, or their chief reasons for a total separation from the established church, and are undoubtedly the most complete and correct account of their opinions, that was ever published. We forbear making any comments, but leave the whole to the reader's own judgment.

HIS WORKS.—1. *Certayne Reasons and Arguments*, proving that it is not lawful to hear, or have any spiritual Communion with, the present Ministry of the Church of England, 1601. This is perhaps the same as that of which an abstract is given above.—2. *An Answer to White's Discoverie of Brownism*, 1606.—3. *A Christian Plea*, 1617.—4. *A Tract on Matt. xviii.*—He also published some other pieces on the controversies of the times.

WILLIAM COLE, D.D.—This learned divine was most probably educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree. Upon the commencement of Queen Mary's bloody persecution, he fled from the storm, and retired to Frankfort. He was there involved in the troubles among the English exiles; and the first settlers being excluded from the privileges of the place, by the officiousness of Dr. Cox and his party, he retired, with several of his brethren, to Zurich.† He went afterwards to Geneva, where he was highly esteemed by his fellow-exiles. He united with the venerable Miles Coverdale and other learned divines, in publishing the Geneva translation of the Bible.‡ Upon his return from exile, he sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the articles of religion.§ He was in high favour with Queen Elizabeth, who, on account

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 618, 619. Edit. 1778.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 13.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 153.—See Art. Coverdale.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 329.

of his great celebrity, preferred him, in 1568, to the presidentship of Corpus Christi college, Oxford,\* in which office he continued at least thirty years. A divine of the same name, and very probably the same person, was cast into prison for nonconformity. Though it does not appear how long he remained under confinement; yet, upon the earnest intercession of friends, a letter from the court at Greenwich, dated April 4, 1574, was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signifying, that, in consideration of his great years, her majesty was willing for him to be released from his present confinement: but that he should remain within twenty or thirty miles of London, in some honest person's house, as his lordship should think most convenient; and should obtain sureties, that he would not henceforth meddle, by teaching or *otherwise*, in matters of religion.† In the year 1599, he exchanged this preferment with Dr. John Rainolds, for the deanery of Lincoln; but died at an advanced age, in the year 1600.‡ Mr. Strype denominates him a sober and religious nonconformist; and observes, that being chosen chaplain to the Earl of Leicester or some other great courtier, he attended at court in his *hat* and *short cloak*, and endeavoured to overthrow all attempts to enjoin the clerical habits.§

JOHN HOLLAND was a minister of great piety, and apparently one of the old puritans. But we have very little account of him till the time of his death, which being rather peculiar, we cannot withhold it from the reader's consideration.

The day before he died, having called for the Bible, he said, "Come, O come; death approaches. Let us gather some flowers to comfort this hour." And having turned to Rom. viii. he gave me the book, says Mr. Leigh, (who preached his funeral sermon,) and bade me read. At the end of every verse he required me to pause, when he gave the sense of the passage, to his own comfort and to the great wonder and joy of his friends. Having continued his meditations on the above chapter, above two hours, he suddenly cried out:—"O, stay your reading. What brightness is this I see? Have you lighted any candles?" To which Mr. Leigh answered, "No; it is the sunshine;"

\* Strype's Parker, p. 266. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 384.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 289, 736.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 213, 219, 266.

being about five o'clock on a clear summer's evening. "Sunshine," said he, "nay, my Saviour's shine. Now farewell, world : welcome, heaven. The Day-star from on high hath visited my heart. O speak when I am gone, and preach at my funeral, *God dealeth familiarly with man*. I feel his mercy ; I see his majesty ; and whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell : God knoweth. But I see things that are unutterable." In these transports of joy, his spirit soared towards heaven ; but afterwards shrinking down, he sighed and said, " Ah ! it will not be yet. My sins keep me back from my God." The next morning, he closed his eyes in death, using these expressions :—" O what a happy change shall I make ! from death to life ! from sorrow to solace ! from a factious world to a heavenly state ! O, my dear brethren, sisters, and friends, it pitieth me to leave you behind. Yet remember my death when I am gone ; and what I now feel, I hope you will find before you die, that God doth and will deal familiarly with men. And now, thou fiery chariot, that camest down to fetch up Elijah, carry me to my happy home. And all ye blessed angels, who attended the soul of Lazarus to bring it to heaven, bear me, O bear me, into the bosom of my best beloved. *Amen, amen. Come, Lord Jesus ; come quickly.*" He died about the year 1600.\*

HENRY SMITH, A. M.—This zealous and eloquent divine was born at Withcock in Leicestershire, in the year 1550, and educated in Lincoln college, Oxford ; where he became well furnished with useful learning. He was descended from a wealthy and honourable family, was possessed of a plentiful estate, and was heir to a large patrimony. But he resolved to employ his talents to the utmost of his power, by labouring for the glory of God and the conversion of souls, in the work of the ministry ; and therefore he left the rich patrimony to a younger brother.† Upon his removal from Oxford, he pursued his studies under the care of Mr. Greenham, whose principles and piety he appeared afterwards to have imbibed. When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh applied to Mr. Greenham for a testimonial of Mr. Smith's character, this excellent divine observed, " that he

\* Ambrose's Works, p. 800. Edit. 1701.

† This younger brother was Sir Roger Smith of Edmondthorp in Leicestershire, who died about the restoration.



was well versed in the holy scriptures, religious and devout in his character, moderate and sober in his opinions, discreet and temperate in his behaviour, industrious in his studies and pursuits, and of a humble spirit and upright heart, joined with a fervent zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of souls.\*

Though Mr. Smith was eminently qualified for the sacred function, he was dissatisfied with the subscription imposed upon ministers, and the lawfulness of certain ceremonies. He was loath to make a rent, either in the church or in his own conscience. But, during this perplexity, he resolved not to undertake any pastoral charge, but to content himself with a lecturer's situation. Accordingly, in the year 1587, he became lecturer at St. Clement Danes, near Temple-bar, London. He was chosen to this public situation by the parishioners, and by the favour of the Lord Treasurer, who lived in the parish, and assisted in raising the contribution for his support. Here he set himself to do the work of the Lord faithfully. He was greatly beloved, and his ministry highly admired by his numerous hearers. But the year following, complaint being made to Bishop Aylmer, that he had spoken in his sermon some words derogatory to the Common Prayer, and that he had not subscribed to Whitgift's three articles, his grace suspended him from preaching. The reasons alleged by the bishop, with Mr. Smith's answers, were the following :

1. "That he was chosen by a popular election ; that is, by the minister and congregation, without his lordship's license."

"I was recommended to the parish by certain godly ministers," says Mr. Smith, "who had heard me preach in other places in this city, and thereupon accepted by the parish, and entertained with a stipend raised by voluntary contribution. In which sort they had heretofore entertained others, without any such question or exception. And his lordship calling me to preach at Paul's cross, never moved any such question to me. Nevertheless, if any error have been committed by me or the parish, through ignorance, our joint desire is to have his lordship's good allowance and approbation, for the said exercise of my function in his lordship's diocese."

2. "That he hath preached against the Book of Common Prayer."

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 152, 153.

“ However his lordship may have been informed against me,” observes Mr. Smith, “ I never used a speech in any of my sermons, against the Book of Common Prayer; whereof the parish doth bear me witness in this my supplication to your lordship.”

3. “ That he hath not yielded his subscription to certain articles which his lordship required at his hands.”

“ Concerning the third,” says he, “ I refuse not to subscribe to any articles, which the law of the realm doth require of men in my calling; acknowledging, with all humbleness and loyalty, her majesty’s sovereignty in all causes, and over all persons, within her highness’s dominions; and yielding my full consent to all articles of faith and doctrine, taught and ratified in this church, according to a statute in that behalf provided, the 13th year of her majesty’s reign. And therefore I beseech his lordship, not to urge upon me any other subscription than the law of God and the laws positive of this realm do require.”\*

The above charges, with the answers subjoined, Mr. Smith presented to the treasurer, accompanied with a supplication to his lordship, humbly requesting his favour and influence at this painful juncture. This great statesman had the highest respect for him; and, as Mr. Smith was not long deprived of his lecture, he most probably espoused his cause, applied to the bishop, and procured his restoration. It is, indeed, observed, “ that the lord treasurer looked very favourably upon Mr. Smith; and that he was often the *screen* to save him from *scorching*, by interposing his greatness betwixt him and the anger of certain episcopal officers.”†

In the year 1589, upon the death of Mr. Harewood, the incumbent of Clement Danes, the churchwardens and parishioners petitioned the treasurer to bestow the living upon our pious divine. In their petition, they observe, “ that by his excellent preaching, his exemplary life, and his sound doctrine, more good had been done among them, than by any other who had gone before, or, as they feared, would follow him.”‡ But Mr. Smith, for the reasons already mentioned, was most probably unwilling to accept the benefit, if it was offered him. He does not appear ever to have enjoyed any greater preferment than that of his lectureship.

\* Strype’s Aylmer, p. 155, 156.

† Fuller’s Life of Mr. Smith prefixed to his sermons.

‡ Strype’s Aylmer, p. 157.

Mr. Smith was a preacher uncommonly followed by persons of piety, especially those of the puritanical party. He was generally esteemed the first preacher in the nation; and, on account of his prodigious memory, and his fluent, eloquent, and practical way of preaching, he was looked upon as the very miracle and wonder of the age.\* It may be truly said of him, that he was a man peaceable in Israel. For though he scrupled conformity himself, and utterly disapproved the imposition of it on others; still he could live on terms of intimacy with those from whom he dissented. His fame was so great, that he was usually called the *silver-tongued preacher*, as if he was second even to Chrysostom. His church was so crowded with hearers, that persons of quality, as well as others, were frequently obliged to stand in the aisles; and his wonderful dexterity in preaching was such, that, by his solid reasons, he fastened conviction upon the judgments of his auditory; by his apt similitudes, upon their fancies; by his orderly method, upon their memories; and by his close applications, upon their consciences.† He died apparently of a consumption, about the year 1600, aged fifty years. Mr. Smith was author of many Sermons and Treatises, published at various times. They passed through many editions, and some of them were carried abroad and translated into Latin. His sermons were so universally admired, that they were for many years used as a family book in all parts of the kingdom. They are so solid, says Fuller, that the learned may partly admire them; yet so plain, that the unlearned may perfectly understand them.‡ His “Sermons, with other his learned Treatises,” and his Life by Fuller, were collected and published in one volume quarto, in 1675.

ARTHUR DENT was the learned and pious minister of South Soubery in Essex, but persecuted by Bishop Aylmer for nonconformity. About the year 1584, he endured many troubles from this prelate, for refusing to wear the surplice, and omitting the sign of the cross in baptism.§ He afterwards united with his brethren, the persecuted ministers of Essex, in presenting a petition to the lords of the council, in which, say they, “We have received the

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 231.—Nichols's *Hist. of Leicestershire*, vol. ii. p. 390.

† Life of Mr. Smith.

‡ Church History, b. ix. p. 142.

§ MS. Register, p. 741.



charge to instruct and teach our people in the way of life; and every one of us hearing this sounded from the God of heaven, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel*, we have all endeavoured to discharge our duties, and to approve ourselves both to God and man. Notwithstanding this, we are in great heaviness, and some of us already put to silence, and the rest living in fear; not that we have been, or can be charged, we hope, with false doctrine, or slanderous life: but because we refuse to subscribe that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God. We do protest in the sight of God, who searcheth all hearts, that we do not refuse from a desire to dissent, or from any sinister affection; but in the fear of God, and from the necessity of conscience." A circumstantial account of this petition, signed by *twenty-seven* ministers, is given in another place.\*

Mr. Dent was author of a work, entitled "The Ruine of Rome; or, an Exposition of Revelation;" in the dedication of which, Mr. Ezekiel Culverwell gives the following account of the author:—"To give some public testimony of my love towards him, and reverence of the rare grace which we all, who enjoyed his sweet society, did continually behold in him, whose learning his labours do shew; and whose diligence, yea extreme and unwearied pains in his ministry, publicly, privately, at home and abroad, for at least four and twenty years, all our country can testify. All which being adorned with such special humility, do make his name the greater, and our loss the more grievous. I may not leave out this, which I avow to be as certain as it is singular, that, besides all others his great labours, he had a special care of all the churches, night and day, by study and fervent prayer, procuring the prosperity of Zion, and the ruin of Rome. And to end with his blessed end: his life was not more profitable to others than his death was peaceable to himself; scarcely a groan was heard, though his fever must needs have been violent which dispatched him in three days. Having made a pithy confession of his faith, 'this faith,' said he, 'have I preached; this faith have I believed in; this faith I do die in; and this faith would I have sealed with my blood, if God had so thought good; and tell my brethren so.' He afterwards said, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid

\* See Art. George Gifford.

up for me the crown of righteousness;' and with his last breath added, 'I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy law is exceeding broad.'" He died most probably some time after the year 1600.

WILLIAM CHARKE was fellow of Peter-house, Cambridge, in 1572, where, most probably, he received his education. Cambridge, at this time, was a nest of puritans; but Dr. Whitgift, with the other heads of colleges, laboured to expel the growing faction, as it was called. Many of the students and fellows were disaffected to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, among whom was Mr. Charke. He did not, therefore, remain long unobserved; for the heads of colleges, of whom Whitgift was chief, presently brought complaints against him to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university.

Mr. Charke, in his sermon at St. Mary's, December 3, 1572, asserted, 1. "That the states of bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and popes, were introduced into the church by Satan.—And, 2. That the ministers of the church ought not to be superior one to another." For divulging these sentiments, he was the very next day cited before Drs. Whitgift, Pern, Howford, Kelk, and Bying, the vice-chancellor; before whom he acknowledged the delivery of the two propositions, the former directly, the latter implicitly. He was brought before them a second time, in February following, and was often admonished and commanded to revoke his errors publicly at St. Mary's, on a Lord's day, which he absolutely refused: only he acknowledged that there ought to be some superiority among ministers, in matters of jurisdiction. Upon which, the vice-chancellor, with the consent of the heads, pronounced sentence upon him of exclusion from the college, and banishment from the university. He was, therefore, excluded and expelled from the place.\* Whether his punishment was not greater than the crime with which he was charged, is left with the candid reader to determine.

Mr. Charke, upon his departure from Cambridge, appealed from the judgment of the vice-chancellor and heads, to Burleigh, the chancellor. This he did, says Mr. Strype, in a well-penned epistle, written in a good Latin style, desiring, by his lordship's means, to be again restored to his

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 43, 44.

college, promising to conduct himself quietly and peaceably. In this letter, he said, "That he denied not himself to be one, who, being led by argument taken from scripture, and the example of foreign churches, thought something to be wanting, whereby our church, lately rescued from darkness, might come nearer the original pattern. That when he was aware how his opinion might prove dangerous to be divulged among the unskilful multitude, because it appeared something new to the common people, and was different from the ordinances, he kept to himself the knowledge of the truth, and had ever studiously avoided the promulgation of it in his sermons; but that in a private senate, and in the Latin tongue, he thought he might use greater liberty. He had, therefore, in a very learned and wise assembly, explained his opinion more freely in those matters. And that, by so doing, he had ignorantly fallen into the crime of violating a law; and so was cited to appear in judgment. And that his judges had forbidden him not only the use of water and fire, by which men live; but the use of learning too, by which they live *well*. He, therefore, humbly appealed to his equity and goodness, as the only hope he had left of recovering his place; praying him to write to the university for his restoration; and that hereafter he might be wholly rejected, if he violated the peace either of the church, the state, or the university."\*

The chancellor, knowing him to be a good scholar, and that he was treated with tyrannical severity, upon receiving this humble and peaceable supplication, made intercession for him, by addressing the following letter to the vice-chancellor and heads of houses:†

"After my very hearty commendations.

"Whereas you have expelled William Charke, late fellow of Peter-house, for some speeches used in a sermon which he lately had *ad clerum*, tending to the disturbing the quietness and peace of the church, and manifestly contrary to the orders taken for the maintenance of the same peace. For as much as the said Charke hath been with me, and partly wisely extenuating his fault, and partly very honestly acknowledging that he committed the same by overmuch vehemency of spirit, and promising faithfully never hereafter to deal in this or the like again, that may be offensive, hath shewed some good parts, affec-

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 43, 44.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxix. p. 373.



tion, and good gifts to be in him, the which, in mine opinion, it were great charity and good wisdom, by gentle usage and persuasion, to reduce to be profitable in the church, rather than by too suddenly cutting him off from the course of his studies, utterly to lose. These are heartily to pray you, the rather for my sake, and for proof of him hereafter, to receive him again into the university and his fellowship within the college, upon his like promise made to you not to meddle hereafter in such kind of doctrines. Wherein, if you shew some indulgence for this time, and rather suppress the memory of his said speech and doctrine, for it was delivered in the Latin tongue, and not popularly taught, in my judgment you shall do well; and so praying you to do, I bid you hearty farewell. From my house, Feb. 20, 1572.

“Your loving friend,

“WILLIAM BURLEIGH.”

This intercession, however, was to no purpose. It does not appear that Mr. Charke was ever restored to his fellowship. He was, about the same time, one of the super-added members of the presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey.\* In the year 1580, we find him employed, with other learned men, in a conference with Campian, the famous popish priest. He was engaged in the fourth day's dispute, when the subjects of discussion were,—1. “Whether the scriptures contain sufficient doctrine for salvation. And, 2. Whether faith alone justifieth.” These conferences were afterwards collected and published, by the consent of both parties.†

Upon Mr. Charke's banishment from the university, he was countenanced and entertained by several of the nobility, and patronized by persons of learning and real worth. He was domestic chaplain first to Lord Cheiny, then to the Duchess of Somerset, at Chelsea, and was with her when she died. In the year 1581, he was chosen constant preacher to the society of Lincoln's-inn. But, to succeed effectually in their choice, the society applied to the Bishop of London, for his approbation and allowance. The bishop, knowing Mr. Charke's great abilities, and that he was eminently qualified for a situation of so much learning, did not refuse; but signified that application should be first made to the lords of the council, for their allowance. This was accordingly done, and the lords

\* Kingdom's MSS. p. 39.—Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 646.

signified their full approbation ; so that he was chosen and admitted.\* He afterwards united with his brethren in subscribing the “ Book of Discipline.”†

In the above respectable situation, Mr. Charke, by the favour of his learned patrons, was protected some years from the tyrannical oppressions of the times ; and though a zealous nonconformist, he enjoyed his lecture at Lincoln’s-inn till the year 1593. The period at length arrived when they could no longer screen him from the fury of the prelates ; for in that year, it appears, he was silenced by Archbishop Whitgift.‡ Notwithstanding the treatment he met with, he was greatly admired and commended, even by rigid conformists, on account of his distinguished learning and great moderation. After his suspension, pleading his cause before the archbishop, that he conducted himself peaceably, &c. his grace replied, “ This is not enough. It is not sufficient, that you do not preach *against* the bishops : you do not preach *for* them.”§

Mr. Strype denominates him a man of eminent parts, and a chief leader among the puritans.|| Dr. Nowell styles him a person of great learning and godliness.¶ The Oxford historian, speaking of the various books of Hooker’s “ Ecclesiastical Polity,” observes, “ That the three books, (meaning the three last,) which Hooker completed before his death, were, with the consent of his unlucky widow, seized upon in his study, soon after his decease, by William Charke, a noted puritan, and another minister that lived near Canterbury ; who, making the silly woman believe that they were writings not fit to be seen, did either burn them in the place, or carry them away.”\*\* Admitting this statement to be correct, the whole, it seems, was done by the permission of that *silly woman*, the *unlucky widow* ; and if Mr. Charke and his companion persuaded her that the papers *were not fit to be seen*, all this might be perfectly just and true. But our historian’s sole authority is the letter of Dr. King, bishop of Chichester, dated November 13, 1664, above sixty years after the event ; and he has made considerable additions to it.†† Mr. Charke was

\* Strype’s Annals, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

† Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 313. (4.)

§ Minister’s Reasons against Subscrip. part ii. p. 173. Edit. 1608.

¶ Strype’s Whitgift, p. 43.—Annals, vol. ii. p. 533.

|| Churton’s Life of Nowell, p. 278, note.

\*\* Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 263.

†† King’s Letter, prefixed to the Life of Hooker. Edit. 1665.

living towards the close of the year 1600; but when he died we have not been able to learn. He published several pieces against the papists.

**JOHN DARRELL, A. B.**—He was minister at Nottingham, but a person in some respects of very peculiar sentiments. He believed, that by fasting and prayer evil spirits might be cast out of persons possessed. Dr. Heylin, defaming his memory, says, that he set up the trade of lecturing at Nottingham, without any lawful calling; and, to advance his reputation, pretended to cast out devils.\* Mr. Strype, also, with a design to reproach the puritans as a body, observes, that when the open practices of the puritans for setting up their discipline did not prevail, some of their ministers had recourse to a more secret method, by doing something which looked little less than miraculous. They pretended, by fasting and prayer, to cast out devils; by which the multitude became so amazed, and were led so to venerate them, that they were the more readily inclined to submit to their opinions and ways. This was a practice borrowed from the papists, to make their priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions.† From these base insinuations, we might be led to suppose, that some plot of considerable magnitude was laid by the puritans, to conjure the ignorant multitude into a belief of their discipline, and the practice of nonconformity: but all this vapour and smoke at once vanishes, and we only hear of the principles and practice of a solitary individual, in connexion with two or three others of less note, but of similar sentiments.

What we have to say is not intended as a defence of Mr. Darrell's peculiarities. He appears to have been a weak, but zealous and honest man; and, therefore, undeserving of the cruel usage which he received from Archbishop Whitgift and others. But because he was a puritan, and a sufferer for nonconformity, it will be proper to give an impartial statement of facts.

The learned historian observes, that, in the year 1586, Mr. Darrell professed to cast a devil out of one Katharine Wright, a young woman about seventeen years of age, living in Derbyshire. But the evil spirit afterwards returning into her, he cast out eight other devils, with which

\* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 348.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 492.



she pretended to have been possessed. Also, he wrote an account of these things at some length, and communicated copies of his performance to persons of distinction; and, among others, to the excellent and pious Lady Bowes: "hoping hereby," says our author, "to obtain applause, and to accomplish other ends."\* There is not, however, the least shadow of evidence, that Mr. Darrell sought after any human applause. This does not appear to have formed any part of his character, or at all to have entered into his designs. And what other ends he meant to accomplish, we are left to conjecture. If the historian here designed to insinuate, that he intended to promote puritanism, and overthrow the church of England, it may be confidently affirmed, that his prospects were not the most flattering.

In the year 1596, Mr. Darrell pretended to cast out many more devils. Among the persons who were on this account indebted to his piety, was one Thomas Darling, a boy about fourteen years of age, at Burton-upon-Trent. This occasioned a person of the town to publish an account of it, entitled "The Book of the Dispossession of the Boy of Burton." This greatly increased his popularity; and caused his fame to spread so much abroad, that he was sent for into Lancashire, and there cast out many other devils. Afterwards, upon his return to Nottingham, one of the ministers of the town, and several of its inhabitants, urged him to visit one William Somers, a boy who was so deeply afflicted with convulsive agonies, that they were thought to be preternatural. When Mr. Darrell had seen the boy, he concluded, with others, that he was certainly possessed, and, accordingly, recommended his friends to obtain the help of godly and learned ministers, with the view of promoting his recovery, but excused himself from being concerned; lest, as he observed, if the devil should be dispossessed, the common people should attribute to him some special gift of casting out devils. At length, however, by the urgent solicitation of the mayor of Nottingham, he complied; and having agreed with Mr. Aldridge and two other christian ministers, together with about one hundred and fifty christian friends, they set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young man from his present torments. Having continued in their devotions for some time, the Lord is said to

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 432.

have been entreated, and to have cast out Satan, for which they blessed his holy name. This was in the year 1597.\*

In a few days after this event, the mayor and several of the aldermen began to suspect that Somers was an impostor; and, to make him confess, they took him from his parents, and committed him to prison; where, by the threatenings of his keeper, he was led to acknowledge, that he had dissembled and counterfeited what he had done. Upon this confession, being carried before a commission appointed to examine him, he at first owned himself to be a counterfeited, then presently denied it; but being so exceedingly frightened, he fell into fits before the commissioners, which put an end to his examination. After some time, being still kept in custody, and further pressed by his keeper, he returned to his confessing, charging Mr. Darrell with having trained him up in the art for several years. Mr. Darrell was then summoned to appear before the commissioners, when sufficient witnesses were produced to prove that Somers had declared, in a most solemn manner, that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the commission was dissolved.

This affair becoming the subject of much conversation in the country, Mr. Darrell, in 1598, was cited before Archbishop Whitgift, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth. Upon his appearance, after a long examination, he was deprived of his ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he continued many years. Mr. George Moore, another puritan minister, for his connexion with him, was, at the same time, committed close prisoner to the Clink. The crime with which Mr. Darrell was charged, and for which he received the heavy sentence, was "his having been accessory to a vile imposture."†

Indeed, Bishop Maddox highly commends the conduct of these ecclesiastical judges, in this unchristian censure.

\* Dr. Heylin, contemptuously speaking of Mr. Darrell's pretensions, observes, "that whenever the conformable ministers visited these demonsiacs, and used the form of prayer according to the established liturgy, the devil was as quiet as a lamb, there being nothing in those prayers to disturb his peace. But when Mr. Darrell and his nonconformist brethren approached, who used to fall upon him with whole volleys of raw and undigested prayers of their own devising, then were the wicked spirits extremely troubled and perplexed; so that the puritans, lest the papists should in any thing have the start of them, had also a kind of *holy water*, with which to frighten away the devil."—*Heylin's Miscel. Tracts*, p. 156.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 492—494.

"Any one," says he, "who considers the state of the town of Nottingham, will applaud the proceedings of the high commission." Then, in the words of Mr. Strype, he gives an account of the state of the town, as if Mr. Darrell had prompted the people to quarrel one with another; or, as if his deprivation and severe imprisonment were likely to allay the difference. "By this time," says he, "it came to pass, that the people of Nottingham were become violent against one another, and the whole town divided as they stood affected. The pulpits rang of nothing but devils and witches; and men, women, and children, were so affrighted, that they durst not stir out in the night; nor so much as a servant, almost, go into his master's cellar about his business, without company. Few happened to be sick, or ill at ease, but strait they were deemed to be possessed. It was high time," adds the learned prelate, "to put a stop to this practice of dispossessing, whether the authors were knaves, or enthusiasts, or both."\* And could neither the Bishop of Worcester, nor yet the high commissioners at Lambeth, think of a more equitable method of punishing the contentious inhabitants of Nottingham, than by inflicting so heavy a sentence upon Mr. Darrell? But Mr. Darrell was a puritan; therefore, right or wrong, he must needs be punished.

Somers and Darling were also brought before the high commission. During their examinations, though the former returned to his accusation of Mr. Darrell, declaring that he himself had, in what he had done, been guilty of dissimulation, the latter stood firm; and, notwithstanding the entreaties, threatenings, and fair promises of the archbishop and others, he could not be prevailed upon to accuse him, but maintained to the last, that the evil spirit had been cast out of him. It does not appear, however, that either of them were cast into prison.†

The prosecution of Mr. Darrell led to a new controversy, when Mr. Harsnet, chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, and afterwards Archbishop of York, published a work, entitled, "A Discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell, Batchelor of Arts, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers of Nottingham: of Thomas Darling, the boy of Burton at Caldwell: and of Katherine Wright at Mansfield and Whittington: and of his dealings with one Mary Couper

\* Vindication of the Church, p. 360.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 32.



at Nottingham, detecting in some sort the deceitful trade in these latter days of casting out devils," 1599. This induced Mr. Darrell to publish a reply, entitled, "A Detection of that sinful, shamful, lying, and ridiculous Discours, of Samuel Harsnet.\* Entituled: A Discoverie of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell. Wherein is manifestly and apparently shewed in the eyes of the world. Not only the unlikelihoode, but the flate impossibilitie of the pretended counterfayting of William Somers, Thomas Darling, Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, together with other 7 in Lancashire, and the supposed teaching of them by the saide John Darrell," 1600. The same year, Mr. Darrell also published, "A true Narration of the strange and grevous Vexation by the Devil, of 7 Persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the doctrine of Possession and Dispossession of Demoniakes out of the word of God is particularly applied unto Somers, and the rest of the persons controverted: together with the use we are to make of these workes of God." Mr. George Moore, his intimate friend, and fellow-sufferer in the same cause, likewise published a reply to Harsnet, entitled, "A true Discourse concerning the certaine Possession and Dispossession of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire, which also may serve as part of an Answer to a fayned and false *Discoverie* which speaketh very much evill, as well of this, as of the rest of those great and mightie workes of God, which be of the like excellent nature," 1600.+

Mr. Darrell, upon his imprisonment, published another work particularly in his own defence, entitled, "The Trial of John Darrell, or a Collection of Defences against Alligations not yet suffered to receive convenient Answer, tending to clear him from the Imputation of teaching Somers and others to counterfeit Possession of Devils," 1599. Also, while he was in prison, he published "An Apology or Defence of the Possession of William Somers, &c. Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting. And thereupon also it is shewn, that in these days men may be possessed with devils; and that being so, by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out." At the close of this work, Mr. Darrell made the

\* Harsnet was one of the principal persecutors of Mr. Darrell, and was advanced to the bishopric of Norwich, as the just reward of this meritorious service. But our author, by mistake, calls Mr. Darrell a *popish* priest.—*Bloomfield's Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. ii. p. 403.

† *Biog. Britan*, vol. iv. p. 2547. Edit. 1747.

following protestation :—" If what I am accused of be true, even that I have been accessary to a vile imposture, with a design to impose on mankind, let me be registered to my perpetual infamy, not only for a notorious deceiver, but such an hypocrite as never trod on the earth before. Yea, Lord ! for to *Thee* I direct my speech, who knoweth all things, if I have confederated more or less, with Somers, Darling, or any others ; if ever I set my eye upon them before they were possessed, then let me not only be made a laughing-stock, and a by-word to all men, but raze my name also out of the book of life, and let me have my portion with hypocrites."\*

While Mr. Darrell was suffering in close prison in the Gatehouse, the productions of his pen were spread through the kingdom. His books found their way to the two universities, particularly Cambridge, where many of them were purchased by the learned collegians. This presently roused the attention of the ecclesiastical governors ; when the bookseller was convened before Dr. Jegon, the vice-chancellor, as will appear from the following letter, addressed " To the right Rev. Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London : "†

" Right reverend, my very good lord, my duty most humbly premised. May it please you to be advertised, that certain books of Darrell's, in two volumes, the one " A Detection of the shameful, lying Discoverie," &c. the other " A true Narration of the strange Vexation," &c. have been sold underhand, by a taylor, since Christmas last, to the number of sixty books, as the party before me hath confessed. To whom he hath sold them in particular, he will not confess : whereupon I have bound him here, with surety, to be forth coming until I know your lordship's pleasure, thinking it my duty to signify the same, knowing that Darrell hath been censured for a dissembler, and supposing that such books come not out with allowance and privilege. The examination I send here inclosed.

" JEGON, Vice-chancellor of the  
" University of Cambridge."

What further prosecution the poor man underwent, or when Mr. Darrell was released from his cruel imprisonment, it is very difficult to ascertain.

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 495. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxvii. p. 11.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, B. D.—This distinguished puritan was born in the city of Chester, about the year 1519, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. After taking his degrees in Arts, he was constituted one of the senior students of Christ's Church, then newly founded by Henry VIII. Towards the close of the reign of King Edward, he was admitted to the reading of the sentences, and chosen divinity lecturer in the university. But upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the return of popery and bloody persecution, he withdrew from the storm, and went into exile. He retired, with many of his brethren, to Frankfort, and was deeply involved in the troubles of that place, occasioned chiefly by the officious interference of Dr. Cox and his party. Here, when it was proposed to make choice of officers for the church, Mr. Goodman gave it as his opinion, "That they ought first to agree to some godly order for the church; and, in agreeing to this order, to obtain the consent of the congregation, whereby it might appear that they contemned not the rest of their brethren: and further, to proceed to the election, which he thought, also, ought not to be attempted without the consent of the whole church." In neither of these proposals, however, did Mr. Goodman succeed. For it was replied, that they should have no other order than the English Book of Common Prayer; and Dr. Cox had assembled the ministers, at his lodgings, to make choice of a bishop and other officers.\* Upon the separation at Frankfort, Mr. Goodman went to Geneva, where he and Mr. John Knox, the famous Scotch reformer, were chosen pastors of the English church, and there remained till the death of Queen Mary. While at Geneva, he assisted Mr. Knox in composing "The Book of Common Order," which was to be used as a directory of worship in the protestant congregations.† Upon receiving the news of the queen's death, Mr. Goodman and his brethren at Geneva, wrote a most affectionate, healing letter to their fellow-exiles at Frankfort. This letter, with the answer, is still preserved.‡

It will be proper here to observe, that during Mr. Goodman's exile, and some time before the queen's death, a report came to them that she was dead. The rumour occasioned him to write to Mr. Bartlet Green, a lawyer, a pious professor of the gospel, and his former acquaintance

\* Troubles at Frankford, p. 39, 40.

† Scott's Lives of Reformers, p. 250. Edit. 1810.

‡ Troubles at Frankford, p. 160—163.



at Oxford, inquiring whether the report was true. His worthy friend replied, *The queen is not yet dead*. The letter, however, being intercepted, Mr. Green was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and, after lying a long time in prison, condemned and committed to the flames, under the cruel severities of Bonner, bishop of London.\* While our divine remained at Geneva, he took an active part, with several of his learned brethren, in writing and publishing the Geneva translation of the Bible.†

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Goodman, after finishing the Translation, returned from exile, but did not immediately come to England. He went to Scotland; and, for several years, was actively employed in promoting the reformation, and preaching the gospel, in that country. In the year 1560, having preached for some time at Ayr, the committee of parliament, who nominated the ministers for the principal towns in Scotland, appointed him to be minister at St. Andrews, where it was thought expedient that the officiating minister should be a man of established reputation.‡ About the same time, he was employed in a public disputation at Edinburgh, betwixt the papists and protestants. Those on the side of the papists were Dr. Lesley, Dr. Anderson, Mr. Mirton, and Mr. Stracquin; who disputed with Mr. Knox, Mr. Willock, and Mr. Goodman. The points of disputation were, “The holy eucharist, and the sacrifice of the altar.” In the conclusion, though the papists gave it out, that the protestants were completely baffled, and declined the contest in future, the nobility, who attended the dispute, were certainly of another mind.§

As minister of St. Andrews, Mr. Goodman was present in the assembly, December 20, 1560, with the assistant elders, David Spens and Robert Kynpont, who accompanied him. In 1562, he and Mr. John Row, minister of Perth, were appointed to assist John Erskine of Dun, in the visitation of the sherifffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff. And in 1563, he argued in opposition to Mr. Secretary Lethington, that the tithes ought to be appropriated to the clergy. Lethington was on this occasion much chagrined; and ungenerously said, that it was not fit that a stranger should meddle with the affairs of a foreign commonwealth. Mr. Goodman calmly, but firmly, replied, “My lord secretary,

\* Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 523—526.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 370.

† See Art. Coverdale.

‡ Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 253. Edit. 1644.

§ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 476.

though in your policy I be a stranger, yet I am not so in the kirk of God; and, therefore, the care thereof appertaineth no less to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England.”\*

In the year 1564, he was appointed to preach for the space of a month, at Edinburgh, in the absence of Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of that city, who had been commissioned to visit some of the southern parts of the kingdom. Also, the assembly, June 25, 1565, laid many appointments upon him, some of which he did not fulfil; for, before the assembly again met, December 25th, in the same year, he had left the kingdom; which is thus noticed in the church-register:—“Commissioners from St. Andrews appeared, who requested that Mr. John Knox should be transplanted, and placed at St. Andrews. The assembly refused their request, and desired them to choose a minister out of their own university, in the room of Mr. Christopher Goodman, who had lately departed into England.”†

Dr. Heylin, with his wonted peevishness and slander, says, “It cannot be denied, that Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, and the rest of the Genevean conventicle, were very much grieved, at their return from exile, that they could not bear the like sway here as Calvin and Beza did at Geneva. They not only repined and were envious at the reformation of the English church, because not fitted to their fancies, and Calvin’s platform; but laboured to sow those seeds of heterodoxy and disobedience, which brought forth those troubles and disorders that afterwards followed.”‡ So much reproach, misrepresentation and falsehood, is seldom found within so small a compass.

About the year 1568, our celebrated divine became chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, in his expedition against the rebels in Ireland, and shewed his great diligence and faithfulness in that service.§ And in 1571, he was cited before Archbishop Parker, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth. He published a book, during his exile under Queen Mary, entitled, “How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully, by God’s Word, obeyed and resisted: Wherein also is declared the Cause of all the present Misery in England, and how the same may be remedied,” 1558. In this work, he spoke with some freedom against the government of women, but especially the severe proceedings of Queen

\* Scott’s Lives of Reformers, p. 251.

† Ibid. p. 252.

‡ Heylin’s Hist. of Pres. p. 25.

§ Troubles at Frankford, p. 168.

Mary. From this book, the archbishop, after sô many years, collected certain dangerous and seditious articles, as they are called ; and required Mr. Goodman to revoke his opinions.\* Though he refused for some time, yet, before his release could be procured, he was obliged to subscribe the following recantation :

“ For as much as the extremity of the time, wherein I did write my book, brought forth alteration of religion, setting up of idolatry, banishment of good men, murdering of saints, and violation of all promises made to the godly ; I was, upon consideration of present grief, moved to write many things therein, which may be, and are, offensively taken, and which also I do mislike, and wish they had not been written. And notwithstanding the book, by me so written, I do protest and confess, ‘ That good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations ; and do, from the bottom of my heart, allow the queen’s majesty’s most lawful government, and daily pray for the long continuance of the same. Neither did I ever mean to affirm, that any person or persons, of their own authority, ought or might lawfully have punished Queen Mary with death. Nor that the people, of their own authority, may lawfully punish their magistrates, transgressing the Lord’s precepts. Nor that ordinarily God is the head of the people, and giveth the sword into their hands, though they seek the accomplishment of his laws.’ Wherefore, as many of these assertions as may be rightly collected out of my said book, them I do utterly renounce and revoke, as none of mine, promising never to write, teach, nor preach, any such offensive doctrine. Humbly desiring, that it may please your lordships to give me your good and favourable allowance ; whereby I shall, by God’s grace, endeavour to labour in furthering the true service of God, and obedience to her majesty, to the utmost of my power, during my whole life : to the satisfaction of all good men, and to the contentment of her majesty and your good lordships.

“ CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.”†

“ This is a lame recantation,” says one of our learned historians. “ For Goodman founds the queen’s title upon her *moral*, and not upon her *civil* qualifications. *Godly women*,” he says, “ may lawfully govern. By this doctrine, where there is no virtue, there can be no claim to authority ; and when their godliness is at an end, their government must

\* Strype’s Parker, p. 325, 326.

† Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 126.



be so too : this is founding dominion on grace. And when the prince has so precarious a title, and the subjects are made judges of the forfeiture, peace and public order must be weakly established. The next part of the recantation is not one jot better. For by only denying that *private* people may execute their princes, he seems to allow that magistrates and parliaments may do it. And by saying, that God does not *ordinarily* put the sword into the hands of the people, what can be inferred, but that in some cases it is lawful for the people to rise against their sovereign, and reform the church and state at discretion."\* How much better would the learned writer have ordered this recantation, if he had fortunately been one of the high commissioners at Lambeth ! If the form of it was really faulty, surely this attaches no evil to Mr. Goodman. He only complied with the impositions of his ecclesiastical judges. In this, as in numerous other instances, we see the extreme madness of any man, or any body of men, attempting to impose their own opinions upon their fellow-creatures.

When Mr. Goodman was cited before the archbishop and other commissioners, he was required to subscribe, not only the above recantation, but the following protestation of his loyalty to the queen and government :

"I, Christopher Goodman, preacher of God's word in this realm of England, have protested, the day and year above written, before the reverend fathers aforesaid, and in this present writing, do unfeignedly protest and confess before all men, that I have esteemed and taken Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. ever since her coronation, as now, and shall during life, and her grace's government, for my only liege lady, and most lawful queen and sovereign. Whom I truly reverence in my heart, love, fear, and obey, as becometh an obedient subject, in all things lawful; and as I have at sundry times in the pulpit, willingly and of mine own accord, declared in great audience, who can and will bear me sufficient record, exhorting and persuading all men, so far forth as in me did lay, to the like obedience to her majesty. For whose preservation, and prosperous government, I have earnestly and daily prayed to God, and will, being assisted by his holy spirit, during my life. In witness whereof, I the said Christopher,

\* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 440.

have subscribed this protestation with mine own hand, the 26th day of April, 1571, by me,

“CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.”\*

In the year 1584, Mr. Goodman, we find, lived in his native county, where he was most probably silenced for nonconformity. During that year, Archbishop Whitgift having pressed subscription to his three articles, upon the godly ministers in those parts, Mr. Goodman wrote to the Earl of Leicester, informing him how the papists in Cheshire and elsewhere, rejoiced at the proceedings and severities of the archbishop. This the archbishop, indeed, resented and denied, and charged Mr. Goodman with perverseness, in refusing subscription, and an exact conformity to the established church.†

We have not been able to obtain any further account of this excellent divine, till the pious and learned Mr. James Usher, afterwards the famous archbishop, came to England to purchase books for the college library at Dublin, when he visited him on his death-bed. Usher was so deeply impressed with the holy conversation of this venerable divine, that, when he himself became an old man, and the Archbishop of Armagh, he often repeated the wise and grave speeches which he had heard from him.‡ Mr. Goodman died in 1602, aged eighty-three years, and his remains were interred in St. Werburg’s church, in the city of Chester. Fuller denominates him a leader of the fierce nonconformists.§ Wood says, he was a most violent nonconformist, and more rigid in his opinions than his friend John Calvin, who speaks of him in his epistles.|| Mr. Leigh calls him a learned, good, and holy divine.¶ Dr. Bancroft says, that he, with the rest of the Geneva accomplices, urged all estates to take up arms, and by force to reform religion themselves, rather than to suffer superstition and idolatry to remain in the land.\*\*

Mr. Thomas Merburie of Christ’s college, Cambridge, in his last will and testament, dated December 1, 1571, and proved the same month, appointed “his well-beloved in Christ, his father-in-law, Mr. Christopher Goodman, preacher

\* Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 95, 96.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 245, 246.

‡ Bernard’s Life of Usher, p. 42. Edit. 1656.

§ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 77.

|| Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol i. p. 273.

¶ Leigh’s Religion and Learning, p. 211.

\*\* Bancroft’s Dangerous Positions, p. 62. Edit. 1640.

of God's word," one of the supervisors of his will.\* Mr. Goodman published the two following articles: "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully, by God's Word, disobeyed and resisted," 1548.—"A Commentary on Amos." Wood ascribes to him, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the Menstrous Regiment of Women," 1558: But it is well known that Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, was its author: our divine only wrote the preface to that work.

WILLIAM PERKINS was born at Marton in Warwickshire, in the year 1558, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. For some time after his going to the university, he continued exceedingly profane, and ran to great lengths in prodigality. While Mr. Perkins was a young man, and a scholar at Cambridge, he was much devoted to drunkenness. As he was walking in the skirts of the town, he heard a woman say to a child that was froward and peevish, "Hold your tongue, or I will give you to drunken Perkins, yonder." Finding himself become a by-word among the people, his conscience smote him, and he became so deeply impressed, that it was the first step towards his conversion. After he was called by divine grace, and become a preacher of the gospel, he laid open the workings of sin and vanity in others, exercised a spirit of sympathy over perishing sinners, and upon their repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, led them to the enjoyment of substantial comfort. He gave, at the same time, strong proofs of his great genius, by his deep researches into nature, and its secret springs of operation. When the Lord was pleased to convert him from the error of his ways, he immediately directed his attention to the study of divinity, and applied himself with such uncommon diligence, that in a short time, he made an almost incredible proficiency in divine knowledge.

At the age of twenty-four, he was chosen fellow of his college, when he entered upon the sacred function. Having himself freely received, he freely gave to others; and in imitation of our Lord, he went and preached deliverance to captives. Feeling bowels of compassion for the poor prisoners confined in Cambridge, he prevailed upon the jailer

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 314.



to collect them together in one spacious room, where he preached to them every sabbath, with great power and success. Here the prison was his parish; his love to souls, the patron presenting him to it; and his work, all the wages he received. No sooner were his pious labours made known, than multitudes flocked to hear him from all quarters. By the blessing of God upon his endeavours, he became the happy instrument of bringing many to the knowledge of salvation, and to enjoy the glorious liberty of the sons of God, not only of the prisoners, but others, who, like them, were in captivity and bondage to sin. His great fame, afterwards known in all the churches, was soon spread through the whole university; and he was chosen preacher at St. Andrew's church, where he continued a laborious and faithful minister of Christ, till called to receive his reward.

Mr. Perkins being settled in this public situation, his hearers consisted of collegians, townsmen, and people from the country. This required those peculiar ministerial endowments which providence had richly bestowed upon him. In all his discourses, his style and his subject were accommodated to the capacities of the common people, while, at the same time, the pious scholars heard him with admiration. Luther used to say, "that ministers who preach the terrors of the law, but do not bring forth gospel instruction and consolation, are not wise master-builders: they pull down, but do not build up again." But Mr. Perkins's sermons were *all law*, and *all gospel*. He was a rare instance of those opposite gifts meeting in so eminent a degree in the same preacher, even the vehemence and thunder of *Boanerges*, to awaken sinners to a sense of their sin and danger, and to drive them from destruction; and the persuasion and comfort of *Barnabas*, to pour the wine and oil of gospel consolation into their wounded spirits. He used to apply the terrors of the law so directly to the consciences of his hearers, that their hearts would often sink under the convictions; and he used to pronounce the word *damn* with so peculiar an emphasis, that it left a doleful *echo* in their ears a long time after. Also his wisdom in giving advice and comfort to troubled consciences, is said to have been such, "that the afflicted in spirit, far and near, came to him, and received much comfort from his instructions."\*

\* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 431—434.—Clark's *Marrow of Eccl. Hist.* p. 851.

Mr. Perkins had a surprising talent for reading books. He perused them so speedily, that he appeared to read nothing; yet so accurately, that he seemed to read all. In addition to his frequent preaching, and other ministerial duties, he wrote numerous excellent books; many of which, on account of their great worth, were translated into Latin, and sent into foreign countries, where they were greatly admired and esteemed. Some of them being translated into French, Dutch, and Spanish, were dispersed through the various European nations. Voetius and other foreign divines, have spoken of him with great honour and esteem. Bishop Hall said, "he excelled in a distinct judgment, a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the schools, and in an easy explication of the most perplexed subjects." And though he was author of so many books, being lame of his right-hand, he wrote them all with his left. He used to write in the title of all his books, "Thou art a Minister of the Word: Mind thy business."

This celebrated divine was a thorough puritan, both in principle and in practice, and was more than once convened before his superiors for nonconformity; yet he was a man of peace and great moderation. He was concerned for a purer reformation of the church; and, to promote the desired object, he united with his brethren in their private associations, and in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."\* Complaint was, however, brought against him, that he had signified, before the celebration of the Lord's supper, that the minister not receiving the bread and wine from the hands of another minister, but from himself, was a corruption in the church:—that to kneel at the sacrament was superstitious and antichristian;—and that to turn their faces towards the east, was another corruption. Upon this complaint, he was convened before Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, and heads of colleges; but refusing to answer, unless he might know his accusers, it was thought expedient to bring certain persons who had heard him, and examine them upon their oaths. Therefore, Mr. Bradcock, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were produced as witnesses against him, and required to answer the three following interrogatories:—1. "Whether Mr. Perkins, in his common place, made at the time before mentioned, did teach, that it was a corruption in our church, that the minister did not receive the communion at

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.



the hands of another minister, because that which is used in our church is without warrant of the word?—2. Whether he did name kneeling when we receive the sacrament, as superstitious and antichristian?—3. Whether he did not denominate kneeling towards the east to be a corruption?” —The witnesses mostly answered in the affirmative; but, in several particulars, they could not give any testimony. Mr. Bainbrigg closed the evidence by observing, with respect to kneeling at the sacrament, “He thought our Saviour sat, and,” in his opinion, “it was better to come near to that which He did, than that which was done in time of popery.” He thought also that it was better not to kneel towards the east.

After the examination of the witnesses, Mr. Perkins was allowed to speak in his own defence, when he addressed his spiritual judges as follows:—“As this doctrine of faith and a good conscience is to be applied to the congregation, so it is by God’s providence come to pass that I must apply it to myself. I am thought to be a teacher of erroneous doctrines. I am enjoined to satisfy, and, in truth, I am now willing with all my heart to do it.—Of ministering the communion to a man’s own self, this was my opinion, that in this place it was better to receive it from another, because we are thirteen ministers; and, by this means, the minister would not only receive the sacrament, but also the approbation of his brother, that he was a worthy receiver. It is observed, that I said this action was unlawful, and a corruption of our church. I said it not; and truly, I protest before God, if I had said it, the same tongue which had said it, should unsay it; that God might have the glory, and that shame and confusion might be unto me.

“I said not that kneeling was idolatrous and antichristian. I do remember it. My opinion was this, that of the two gestures which we used, sitting and kneeling, sitting is more convenient, because Christ sat, and the pope kneeleth, as Jewel observes against Harding. And in things indifferent we must go as far as we can from idolatry. Mr. Calvin taught me this, in his sermon on Deut. vii. I think a man may use it with a good conscience; for I am far from condemning any. And I beseech you how can we altogether clear ourselves, who, sitting before, fall down on our knees when the bread cometh, and, having received it, rise up again, and do in like manner with the wine.

“I hold looking unto the east or west to be indifferent, and to be used accordingly: but this I marvel at, why the



cross still standeth in the window, and why we turn ourselves toward the end of the chapel, at the end of the first and second lesson. We are commanded to flee from every appearance of evil.—These things I have said to satisfy every man in the congregation, and to shew that I despise not authority: which, if this will do, God be praised; but if not, God's will be done. I confess most freely this thing. I did not seek the disquiet of this congregation; yet I might have spoken these things at a more convenient time.”\*

It does not appear whether Mr. Perkins's defence gave satisfaction to his ecclesiastical judges, or whether he suffered some particular censure or further prosecution. This, however, was not the end of his troubles. He was apprehended, with many others, and carried before the star-chamber, on account of the associations. Upon his appearance before this high tribunal, he took the oath *ex officio*, discovered the associations, and confessed that Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Snape, and others, had met at Cambridge, to confer about matters of discipline.† He was once or twice convened before the high commission; and though his peaceable behaviour, and great fame in the learned world, are said to have procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his brethren,‡ he was, nevertheless, deprived by Archbishop Whitgift.§ Mr. Perkins, writing at the above period, in 1592, when many of his brethren were cruelly imprisoned for nonconformity, styles it, “The year of the last patience of the saints.”||

Towards the close of life, Mr. Perkins was much afflicted with the stone, the frequent attendant on a sedentary life, which he bore with remarkable patience. In the last fit of his complaint, a little before his death, a friend praying for the mitigation of his pains, he cried out, “Hold, hold! do not pray so; but pray the Lord to give me faith and patience, and then let him lay on me what he pleases.” At length his patience had its perfect work. He was finally delivered from all his pains, and crowned with immortality and eternal life, in the year 1602, aged forty-four years.¶ He was born in the first, and died in the last year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He left the world rich

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxx. p. 292, 293.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 354, 371, 372.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 509.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 219.

¶ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 323. ¶ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 157.

in grace, and in the love of God and good men; and was instrumental in making many rich. His ministerial labours were signally blessed to multitudes, both townsmen and collegians. His remains were interred in St. Andrew's church with great funeral solemnity, at the sole expense of Christ's college; the university and the town striving which could shew the warmest gratitude for his faithful labours, and pay the greatest respect to his memory. Dr. Montague, afterwards successively Bishop of Bath and Wells, and of Winchester, preached his funeral sermon from Joshua, i. 2. *Moses my servant is dead*; and spoke in high commendation of his learning, piety, labours, and usefulness.\*

Mr. Perkins was so pious and exemplary in his life, that malice itself was unable to reproach his character. As his preaching was a just comment upon his text; so his practice was a just comment upon his preaching. He was naturally cheerful and pleasant; rather reserved towards strangers, but familiar upon their further acquaintance. He was of a middle stature, ruddy complexion, bright hair, and inclined to corpulency, but not to idleness.† He was esteemed by all, says Fuller, as a painful and faithful dispenser of the word of God; and his great piety procured him liberty in his ministry, and respect to his person, even from those who differed from him in other matters. He is classed among the fellows and learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge.‡ Churton styles him "the learned and pious, but Calvinistic Perkins;" as if his Calvinism was a considerable blemish in his character.§ Toplady, on the contrary, applauds him on account of his Calvinistic opinions, and denominates him "the learned, holy, and laborious Perkins."|| The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and often expressed his wish to die as holy Mr. Perkins did, who expired crying for mercy and forgiveness. Herein he was, indeed, gratified; for his last words were, "Lord, especially forgive my sins of omission."¶

The works of this excellent divine are numerous and highly esteemed, especially in foreign countries. They were published at various times, but were collected and printed in three volumes folio, in 1606, entitled "The

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 371.

† Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 436.—Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 851.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 211.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 323.

|| Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 179.

¶ Bernard's Life of Usher, p. 100. Edit. 1656.

Workes of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins." Mr. Job Orton had an high opinion of him and his writings, and gives the following account both of the author and the productions of his pen:—"I am now reading the works of Mr. William Perkins, an eminent tutor and divine at Cambridge, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. They are three volumes folio, and I have got through one of them. What led me more particularly to read him was, that his elder brother was one of my ancestors, from whom I am in a direct line, by my mother's side, descended. I think him an excellent writer: his style is the best of any of that age, or the next, and many passages in his writings are equal to those of the best writers in modern times. He is judicious, clear, full of matter, and deep christian experience. He wrote all his works with his *left* hand, being lame of the *right*, and died about forty-four. I could wish *all* ministers, especially *young* ones, would read him, as they would find large materials for composition. He hath some tracts against the papists; and appears to have been a pretty high Calvinist; but he hath many admirable things in *practical* divinity. His works are little known in England, but they are still in estimation in Germany, *many* of them being written in elegant Latin, and others translated into German."\*

Mr. Perkins made his last will and testament a little before his death, dated Cambridge, October 16, 1602, and it was in substance as follows:—First, he bequeaths to the poor of the parish of St. Andrews, where he then dwelt, the sum of forty pounds. Also to his worshipful and loving friends, Mr. Edm. Barwell, Jam. Montague, D. D. Mr. Law. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, Rich. Foxcroft and Tho. Copley, M. A. and Nath. Cradock his brother-in-law, all the messuage or tenement wherein he then dwelt, with the houses, yards, &c. adjoining thereto, in the town of Cambridge, to be sold, and the money divided into three equal parts, one part to go to his wife Timothy, the other two amongst his children, born or unborn. He also wills that the price of all his moveable goods and chattels be divided amongst his wife and children.

"He appoints his wife Timothy his sole executrix, or in case of failure by death, then he makes Nath. Cradock



aforesaid, executor. He also bequeaths to his father, Tho. Perkins, and his mother, Anna Perkins, ten pounds a piece, and to every of his brethren and sisters, five pounds a piece, and to his son-in-law, John Hinde, his English Bible.”\*

JOSIAS NICHOLS was a worthy minister of the gospel, an humble servant of Christ, and a man of distinguished eminence in his day. Certain writers in defence of the church and its ceremonies, having charged the puritans with being as factious, seditious, and as great enemies to the queen, as the papists; Mr. Nichols, in answer to these malicious imputations, published a book, entitled “A Plea for the Innocent; or, a Defence of the Puritans,” 1602. The author proves that the charges against the puritans were malicious and false. He fully answers all the calumnies and slanders cast upon them, and, with great impartiality, blames both parties in those things wherein they were culpable. The book is written with great modesty, humility, and temper, and with great reverence of the bishops; in soft and gentle language, with good strength of argument, liveliness of affection, and a deep sense of the common danger then threatening both the church and the state.+ In this work, he observes, in defence of himself and his brethren, “We subscribe willingly to the book of articles, according to the statute in that behalf provided: viz. to those articles which only concern the confession of the true faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as the statute expressly commandeth and limiteth.”‡ Mr. Nichols subscribed the “Book of Discipline.”§

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, B. D.—This most celebrated person was born in Hertfordshire, about the year 1535, and educated in St. John’s college, Cambridge. He possessed excellent natural parts, applied to his studies with uncommon assiduity, and made amazing progress in the various branches of useful literature. He allowed himself only five hours’ sleep in the night, to which custom he closely adhered to the end of his days. Having been about three years at the university, upon the death of King Edward,

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 544.

+ MS. Remarks, p. 535.

‡ Plea for the Innocent, p. 21.

§ Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

and the return of popery, he quitted that seat of learning, and became clerk to a counsellor at law. This employment, however, did not prevent the prosecution of his former pursuits. The study of divinity, and those branches of knowledge most calculated for usefulness to a divine, were his chief delight; and to which he still directed the closest application. In this situation he remained till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he returned to St. John's college, and in the year 1560, was made fellow of the house. In about three years, he was removed to Trinity college, where, on account of his great learning and worth, he was chosen one of the eight senior fellows.

In the year 1564, when Queen Elizabeth visited the university of Cambridge, uncommon preparations were made for her entertainment, and the most learned men were selected for the public disputations. Among these was Mr. Cartwright, whose performance on this occasion discovered such extraordinary abilities, as gave the greatest satisfaction, both to the queen and the other auditors.\* But many writers have asserted, that he received neither reward nor commendation; and that he was presumptuous of his own good learning, but deficient in a comely grace and behaviour. Indeed, it is added, that he was so vexed by her majesty's neglect of him, that he immediately began to wade into divers opinions relative to the new discipline, and to kick at the government of the established church; growing conceited of his own learning and holiness, and becoming a great contemner of those who differed from him.+ That this is a most notorious slander, appears partly from the account already given; but especially from the words of another learned historian. From the relation of the queen's reception at Cambridge, says he, there appears no clear ground for any such discontent, as that which is charged against Mr. Cartwright; for, as this relation informs us, the queen approved of them *all*.‡

In the year 1570, Mr. Cartwright was chosen Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. It is particularly mentioned, that he delivered lectures upon the first and second chapters of the Acts of the Apostles; which he performed with such acuteness of wit, and such solidity of judgment, that they excited the admiration of those who attended. He was also become so celebrated a preacher, that when it

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 16, 17.

† Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 9, 10.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 403.

was his turn to preach at St. Mary's, the sexton, on account of the multitudes who flocked to hear him, was obliged, for their accommodation, to take down the windows of the church.\*

Mr. Cartwright took occasion, in his lectures, to deliver his sentiments concerning church discipline; and because they were unfavourable to the hierarchy, public accusations were soon exhibited against him.+ Archbishop Grindal wrote a letter, dated June 24, 1570, to Sir William Cecil, chancellor of the university, urging him to take some course with Mr. Cartwright; alleging, that in his lectures he constantly spoke against the external policy, and the various offices of the church; in consequence of which, the young men of the university, who attended his lectures in great numbers, were in danger of being poisoned by his doctrines. He, therefore, recommended to the chancellor to silence Cartwright and his adherents, and to reduce them to conformity, or expel them from the college, or from the university, as the cause should require. He also urged that Mr. Cartwright might not be allowed to take his degree of doctor in divinity, at the approaching commencement, for which he had made application.‡ Dr. Whitgift also zealously opposed Mr. Cartwright, and wrote at the same time to the chancellor, communicating not only what Mr. Cartwright had openly taught, but also what he had spoken to him in private conversation.§

Mr. Cartwright vindicated his conduct in a letter to Sir William Cecil; in which he declared his extreme aversion to every thing that was seditious or contentious; and affirmed, that he had taught nothing but what naturally flowed from his text. He observed, that he had cautiously

\* Clark's Lives, p. 17.

† It is said, with a design to reproach Mr. Cartwright, that he and his adherents having delivered three sermons in the college chapel, on one Lord's day, they spoke so vehemently against the ceremonies and the use of the surplice, that, at evening prayer, all the collegians, except three, cast off their surplices, and appeared in the chapel without them!—*Paul's Life of Whitgift*, p. 12.—*Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 140.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 162.

§ It is observed, that what Mr. Cartwright delivered in his sermons on one Lord's day, Whitgift, in the same place, always refuted the Lord's day following, to his great commendation and applause. How far this was to his commendation or applause, we do not determine; but how to reconcile Whitgift's practice, in this case, with his own conduct afterwards, when in the most cruel manner he censured the excellent Mr. Walter Travers for the very same thing, will be found, we think, extremely difficult.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 10, 11.—*Paul's Whitgift*, p. 13.—*See Art. Travers*.



avoided speaking against the habits; but acknowledged his having taught, that the ministry of the church of England had declined, in some points, from the ministry of the apostolic church, and that he wished it to be restored to greater purity. But these sentiments, he said, he had delivered with all imaginable caution, and in such a manner as could give offence to none, excepting the ignorant, the malignant, or those who wished to catch at something to calumniate him; of which things, nearly all the university, if they might be allowed, would bear witness. He, therefore, entreated the chancellor to hear and judge the cause himself.\* Mr. Cartwright had, indeed, numerous friends, ornaments to the university, by whom he was exceedingly admired, and who now stuck close to him. They came forwards at this juncture; and declared in their testimonial sent to the chancellor, "That he never touched upon the controversy of the habits; and though he had advanced some propositions respecting the ministry, according to which he wished things might be regulated, he did it with all possible caution and modesty." This was signed by fifteen hands; and other letters of commendation were written in his favour, signed by many names, some of whom afterwards became bishops;† but all was to no purpose. It was too obvious, that his adversaries were resolved to make him a public example.

Chancellor Cecil was, indeed, inclined to treat Mr. Cartwright with candour and moderation;‡ but his opponents were determined to prosecute him with the utmost rigour and severity. He was cited before the vice-chancellor, Dr. May, and other doctors, and examined upon sundry articles, which he was said to have delivered. The points alleged against him, they affirmed to be contrary to the religion established by public authority; and, therefore, demanded whether he would revoke his opinions, or abide by them. Mr. Cartwright desiring to be permitted to commit his sentiments upon these points to writing, was allowed the favour. He then drew up his opinions in six propositions, and presented them to the vice-chancellor, who admonished him to revoke them; and, upon his refusal, deprived him of his stipend, but allowed him to continue his lecture.§

During this year, Dr. Whitgift was chosen vice-chan-

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 3.

+ Ibid. p. 2—4. Appen. p. 1—4.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 586, 587.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 17.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 11.

cellor, when Mr. Cartwright was presently convened before him. Upon his appearance, Whitgift required him to revoke those opinions contained in his six propositions, to which he had subscribed; and upon Mr. Cartwright's refusal, he pronounced upon him the following definitive sentence:—"That seeing no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him, the said Mr. Cartwright, to be removed from his said lecture; and by his final decree or sentence, did then and there remove him, and declare the said lecture void; and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the election of a new reader. And further, he did then and there, by virtue of his office, inhibit the said Mr. Cartwright from preaching within the said university, and the jurisdiction of the same."\*

The six propositions which Mr. Cartwright delivered under his own hand to the vice-chancellor, and which were said to be both dangerous and untrue, were the following:—

1. That the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished.

2. That the offices of the lawful ministers of the church, viz. bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolical institution: bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor.

3. That the government of the church ought not to be entrusted to bishops' chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own minister and presbyters.

4. That ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a particular congregation.

5. That no man ought to solicit, or to stand as a candidate for the ministry.

6. That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people.†

In addition to these *heterodoxies* and *misrepresentations*, as the learned historian is pleased to call them,‡ other articles were collected from Mr. Cartwright's lectures; and, as they were accounted both *dangerous* and *seditious*, it will

\* Clark's Lives, p. 17.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 11.

† Ibid.

‡ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 525.

be proper to give the substance of them, which was as follows :

1. That in reforming the church, it is necessary to reduce all things to the apostolic institution.

2. That no man ought to be admitted into the ministry, who is not capable of preaching.

3. That popish ordinations are not valid. And only canonical scripture ought to be publicly read in the church.

4. That equal reverence is due to all canonical scripture, and to all the names of God ; there is, therefore, no reason why the people should stand at the reading of the gospel, or bow at the name of Jesus.

5. That it is as lawful to *sit* at the Lord's table, as to *kneel* or *stand*.

6. That the Lord's supper ought not to be administered in private ; nor should baptism be administered by women or lay-persons.

7. That the sign of the *cross* in baptism, is superstitious.

8. That it is reasonable and proper, that the parent should offer his own child in baptism, without being obliged to say *I will, I will not, I believe, &c.*

9. That it is papistical to forbid marriages at certain times of the year ; and to give licenses for them at those times, is intolerable.

10. That the observation of *Lent*, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

11. That trading or keeping markets on the *Lord's day*, is unlawful.

12. That in ordaining ministers, the pronouncing of those words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, is both ridiculous and wicked.\*

These were the dangerous and seditious doctrines, which Mr. Cartwright occasionally touched upon in his public lectures, but evidently without the least design of promoting discord. However, those who sought his ruin, having already deprived him of his lecture and professorship, procured his expulsion from the university. This was undoubtedly a short and easy method of refuting his opinions ! The pretended occasion of his expulsion was, indeed, looked upon as a crime of no small magnitude. Mr. Cartwright, a senior fellow of the college, was only in deacon's orders. Whitgift was no sooner informed of this,

\* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 589.



and that the statute required such to take upon them the order of priests, than he concluded he was perjured; upon which, without any further admonition, he exerted his interest to the utmost among the masters, to rid the place of a man whose popularity was too great for his ambition, declaring he could not establish order in the university, while a man of his principles was among them.\*

The friends of Mr. Cartwright complained of this hard usage. They looked upon it as extreme severity, and savouring too much of antichrist, for a man to be thus censured, without being allowed to have a conference before impartial judges. Whitgift and his friends, therefore, to make their case appear plausible, signed the following testimonial, signifying, "That Mr. Cartwright never offered any disputation, only on condition that he might know his opponents and his judges; nor was this kind of disputation denied him, only he was required to obtain a license from the queen or council;"† which his adversaries knew he could never procure. Here it is evident Mr. Cartwright did not stand on equal ground. The reader will easily perceive, that his proposals of a public dispute, even according to the statement of his enemies, were most equitable and just; but theirs were inequitable, and not within his power to observe.

After Mr. Cartwright's expulsion from the university, "Whitgift accused him of going up and down idly, and doing no good, but living at other mens' tables."‡ How ungenerous was this! After the doctor had taken away his bread, and stopped his mouth from preaching, how unkind was it to reproach him with doing no good, and with depending on his friends for a dinner! Mr. Cartwright himself says, "After he had thrust me out of the college, he accused me of going up and down, doing no good, and living at other mens' tables. That I was not idle, I suppose, he knoweth too well. Whether well occupied, or no, let it be judged. I lived, indeed, at other mens' tables, having no house, nor wife, of my own: but not without their desire, and with small delight of mine, for fear of evil tongues. And although I were not able to requite it; yet towards some I went about it, instructing their children partly in the principles of religion, partly in other learning."§

Mr. Cartwright being expelled from the university, and

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 47.

† Paule's Whitgift, p. 16—18.

‡ Strype's Whitgift, p. 64.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 282. Edit. 1778.

out of all employment, went abroad, and settled a correspondence with some of the most celebrated divines in the foreign protestant universities. During his abode on the continent, he was chosen minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, then at Middleburg, where he continued about two years, the Lord greatly blessing his labours. But by the importunity of his old friends, Messrs. Deering, Fulke, Wyburn, Lever, and Fox, he was at length prevailed upon to return home.\* Several of our historians affirm of him, even before his troubles at Cambridge, "that he might the better feed his humour with conceited novelties, he travelled to Geneva; where he was so enamoured with the new discipline, that he thought all churches and congregations were to be measured and squared by the practice of Geneva."† For this reproachful insinuation, however, there is no sufficient evidence. It is pretty certain he never went to Geneva till after his expulsion from the university.

About the time of Mr. Cartwright's return to England, was published, "An Admonition to the Parliament, for the Reformation of Church Discipline;" to which were annexed Beza's Letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gaulter's to Bishop Parkhurst. Mr. Cartwright was not the author, as many writers have asserted; but Mr. John Field, assisted by Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, for which they were both committed to Newgate, where they continued a long time.‡ Upon the imprisonment of these two excellent divines, Mr. Cartwright was induced to publish a "Second Admonition, with an humble Petition to both Houses of Parliament, for relief against Subscription." The first Admonition was answered by Dr. Whitgift. Mr. Cartwright then published a Reply to Whitgift's Answer; which he is said to have done so admirably well, that his very adversaries commended him for his performance.§ In 1573, Whitgift published his Defence against Mr. Cartwright's Reply. And in 1575, Mr. Cartwright published a Second Reply to Whitgift's Defence, in two parts. But the second part did not come out till 1577. Fuller is, therefore, mistaken, when he says, that Whitgift kept the field, and received no refutation; for it is certain Mr. Cartwright had the last word.||

\* Clark's Lives, p. 18.

† Paule's Whitgift, p. 11.—Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 262.

‡ See Arts. Field and Wilcocks.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 18.

|| Strype's Whitgift, p. 50—69.—Church Hist. b. i x. p. 103.



It was impossible for these divines to settle the controversy ; because they were not agreed about the standard or rule of judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, that the *holy scriptures* were the *only standard* of discipline and government, as well as of doctrine ; and that the church of Christ in all ages ought to be regulated by them. He would, therefore, consult the Bible *only*, and reduce all things, as near as possible, to the apostolic standard. The less our religion was incumbered with the inventions of men, in his opinion, the more it would resemble the simplicity that is in Christ. “ We mean not,” said he, “ to take away the authority of the civil magistrate, to whom we wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness we daily pray : but that *Christ*, being restored to his kingdom, may *rule* in the same by the sceptre of his *word*.”\* Whitgift, on the other hand, maintained, that though the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as the standard of church discipline ; but that this is changeable, and may be accommodated to the government under which we live. Therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the church to the simplicity of *scripture*, the doctor took in the opinions and customs of the fathers, in the four first centuries.+

These points were disputed, as might be expected, with some degree of sharpness. While Mr. Cartwright thought he had reason to complain of the hardships which he and his brethren suffered ; Whitgift, having the government on his side, thought he stood on higher ground, and might assume a superior air. When Mr. Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence, because they were brethren ; Whitgift replied, “ What signifies their being brethren : anabaptists, arians, and other heretics, would be accounted brethren. Their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their error. They deserve as great punishment as the papists ; because they conspire against the church. If they be shut up in Newgate, it is a meet reward for their disorderly doings ; for ignorance may not excuse libels

\* Bishop Maddox warmly censures Mr. Cartwright for maintaining, that the supreme magistrate is only the head of the commonwealth, not of the church ; and that the church may be established without him.—*Vindication of the Church*, p. 271.

† The words of Ballard, a popish priest, before Sir Francis Knollys, concerning Whitgift's writings, are remarkable. “ I would desire no “ better books,” said he, “ to prove my doctrine of popery, than Whitgift's “ against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth in her majesty's name.” —*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 265.



against a private man, much less when they slander the whole church.\* How would the doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a papist sixteen years before? It has too often been the method of warm disputants, when they could not untie the knots with their fingers, to cut them with the sword of the civil power.

In this controversy, the two parties complained of each other. Whitgift thus observes to Cartwright: "If you should have written against the veriest papist in the world, the vilest person, the ignorantist dolt, you could not have used a more spiteful and malicious, more slanderous and reproachful, more contemptuous and disdainful kind of writing, than you use throughout your whole book." On the other hand, Cartwright says to Whitgift, "If peace had been so precious to you, as you pretend, you would not have brought so many hard words, bitter reproaches, enemy-like speeches, (as it were sticks and coals,) to double and treble the heat of contention." Mr. Strype, speaking of Cartwright's reply, says, "Great was the opinion, both of the man and of his book, at this time in London, as well as at Cambridge: many of the aldermen of London openly countenanced him. He was secretly harboured in the city, and had a great many admirers and visitors there, and wanted not for presents and gratuities."† Whether, therefore, Mr. Cartwright got the better of his adversary, or not, in sound learning and strength of argument, Whitgift assuredly got most by it: for he was soon after made Archbishop of Canterbury, while Cartwright was persecuted from place to place, as if he were not fit to live.

The chief of the puritans, being now deprived of the liberty of preaching and publishing, wished to obtain a public disputation with their adversaries. Though this privilege had been allowed the protestants in the days of Queen Mary, and the papists at the accession of Elizabeth, the queen and council took a shorter method, and summoned the disputants to appear before the ecclesiastical rulers, to answer such articles as should then be exhibited against them. Mr. Cartwright was summoned by a special order from the high commission, addressed, "To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and to all the

\* Whitgift acknowledged, that, by the word of God, the office of bishops and priests were the same; yet, in his controversy with Cartwright, he made it heresy to believe and teach this doctrine.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. i. p. 260.—*Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 124.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 224. Edit. 1778.

queen's majesty's officers, unto whom it may come or appertain." The order itself, dated London, December 11, 1573, was as follows:—"We do require you, and therewith straitly command you, and every of you, in the queen's majesty's name, that you be aiding and assisting to the bearer and bearers hereof, with all the best means you can devise, for the apprehension of one Thomas Cartwright, student in divinity, wheresoever he be, within the liberties or without, within this realm. And you having possession of his body by your good travail and diligence in this business, we do likewise charge you, (for so is her majesty's pleasure,) that he be brought up by you to London, with a sufficient number for his safe appearance before us, and other her majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, for his unlawful dealings and demeanours in matters touching religion, and the state of this realm. And fail you not so to do, every one of you, with all diligence, as you will answer to the contrary upon your utmost peril." This order was signed by the Bishop of London, and eleven others of the high commission.\*

Mr. Cartwright, however, wisely concealed himself, till he found an opportunity of leaving the kingdom. And God, who provides for the young ravens when they cry, provided for his persecuted servant in this gloomy season. For at this critical juncture, he was unexpectedly invited, together with Mr. Snape, to assist the ministers in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, in framing the requisite discipline for their churches. This was a favourable dispensation to Mr. Cartwright; who, being forced to abandon his native country, found there a refuge from the storm. These two islands were the only places within the British dominions, where the out-stretched arms of the high commissioners could not reach him. During Mr. Cartwright's abode here, besides attending to the special object of his mission, he laboured in his public ministry, particularly at Castle-Cornet in Guernsey. It appears that he afterwards went again to Antwerp, and a second time became preacher to the English merchants.+

Mr. Cartwright continued at Antwerp several years, but his health having greatly declined, the physicians recommended him, as the most likely means of his restoration, to try his native air. His complaint at length

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 282. + Kingdom's MS. Collec. Pref. p. 33.

increasing to so great a degree that his life was thought to be in danger, he wrote to the lords of the council, the Earl of Leicester, and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, for permission to come home. These two noblemen made honourable mention of him in Parliament. They also interceded with the queen, but could not procure her favour and consent. Nevertheless, he ventured to return once more to his native country. But it was no sooner known that he was landed, than he was apprehended by Bishop Aylmer, and cast into prison.\* When he appeared before Whitgift, now made Archbishop, he behaved with so much modesty and respect, as greatly softened the heart of his adversary; who, upon the promise of his quiet and peaceable behaviour, suffered him, after some time, to go at large. For this favour, both the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright thanked the archbishop; but all the endeavours they used could not obtain him a license to preach.† The earl did every thing for him in his power, and made him master of the hospital at Warwick; where, for some time, he preached without a license, being exempt from the jurisdiction of the prelates.‡ This noble earl, and his brother, the Earl of Warwick, were his constant friends and patrons as long as they lived.§

Mr. Cartwright was so celebrated, that King James of Scotland offered him a professorship in the university of St. Andrews; but he modestly declined it. Afterwards, Mr. Cartwright, in the dedication of his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes" to that king, made thankful acknowledgment of the royal favour. The Archbishop of Dublin invited him into Ireland, offering him considerable preferment; and it is said he went into Ireland, but soon returned to England.|| Indeed, such was his distinguished reputation, that the most celebrated divines, both at

\* The bishop, to cast the reproach of this from himself, proceeded against Mr. Cartwright, not in his own name, but in the name of the queen; with which her majesty no sooner became acquainted, than she was greatly incensed against him. Aylmer, poor man! to make up the breach, wrote to the treasurer, entreating him to use his utmost endeavours to appease the queen's indignation.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 225.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 117.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 340, 341.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 225, 226.

‡ *Clark's Lives*, p. 19.

§ The Earl of Warwick, who died of an amputation of his leg, was a person of great sweetness of temper, and of unexceptionable character. He was affectionate to his relations, kind to his domestics, and grateful to his friends. He was called by the people, long before and after his death, THE GOOD EARL OF WARWICK.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 443, 444. Edit. 1778.

|| Kingdom's MS. Collec. Pref. p. 33.



home and abroad, frequently sought his advice in the most weighty matters.\*

In the year 1583, Mr. Cartwright was earnestly pressed by many learned persons, to publish a refutation of the "Rhemist Translation of the New Testament." That translation being looked upon by all true protestants, as a work of a very dangerous tendency, designed to promote the errors and superstitions of popery, most persons wished it to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found. And no man was thought so suitable to undertake the laborious work as Mr. Cartwright. Indeed, the queen applied to the learned Beza of Geneva, soliciting him to undertake the answer; but he modestly declined, saying, she had a person in her own kingdom far better qualified to perform the work than himself; and declared that this was Mr. Thomas Cartwright.† Sir Francis Walsingham, who in this affair, as well as many others, was accounted the mouth and hand of the queen, wrote to Mr. Cartwright, earnestly entreating him to undertake the work, sending, at the same time, one hundred pounds towards the expense, with assurance of such further assistance as he might afterwards deem necessary. The ministers of London and Suffolk, in like manner, urged him to undertake it. He was also warmly solicited by some of the most learned and celebrated divines of Cambridge.‡ In their letter to him, they express themselves in the following manner:—"We are earnest with you, most reverend Cartwright, that you would set yourself against the unhallowed endeavours of these mischievous men, either by refuting the whole book, or some part thereof. It is not for every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lord's battles; but such captains as are to be chosen from amongst David's worthies, one of which, we acknowledge you to be, by the former battles undergone for the walls of our city, the church. We doubt not, if you will enter this war, but that you, fighting for your conscience and country, will be able to tread under foot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the tower of David.—You see to what an honourable fight we invite you. Christ's

\* Clark's Lives, p. 19.

† During Mr. Cartwright's exile, travelling to Geneva, he became particularly intimate with Beza; who, at that time, writing to his friend in England, gave him the following character: "Here is now with us your countryman, Thomas Cartwright, than whom, I think, the sun doth not see a more learned man."—*Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 171.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 253, 254.

“ business shall be undertaken against Satan’s champions. “ We stir you up to fight the battles of the Lord, where “ the victory is certain, and which the triumph and applause “ of angels will ensue. Our prayers shall never be wanting “ to you. Christ, without doubt, whose cause you defend, “ will be present with you. The Lord Jesus much “ increase your courage and strength, and keep you very “ long in safety for his church’s good.”\* From all these solicitations, Mr. Cartwright was at length induced to undertake the laudable and arduous work ; and having once entered upon it, he spared no pains to carry it on to perfection. But, marvellous as it will appear to all posterity, Archbishop Whitgift, by his own sovereign authority, forbade him to proceed.† Mr. Cartwright meekly obeyed the tyrannical prohibition. The book was left unfinished, to the unspeakable regret of the learned world, but to the lasting reproach of the archbishop, and was not published till the year 1618. Fuller says, Mr. Cartwright perfected the work to the seventeenth chapter of Revelation. But the excellent performance being laid aside many years, became in part *mouse eaten* ; and was not published till the above year. Notwithstanding these defects, says he, it is so complete a refutation, that the Rhemists durst never answer it.‡

Mr. Cartwright was severely persecuted on account of his nonconformity. Although his hospital at Warwick was exempt from the jurisdiction of the prelates, their outstretched and tyrannical power would not suffer him to enjoy peace. He was accused to Bishop Freke of Worcester, a zealous advocate for the church, and summoned to appear in the consistory at Worcester, to answer such charges as were alleged against him. Upon his appearance before his lordship and others, he was addressed as follows : —“ Mr. Cartwright, you are here accused of disturbing the peace and quietness of the church, by innovations, and obtruding fancies and devices of your own or others. You have brought over with you the dregs of Geneva, whereby you would instil into the minds of the queen’s subjects, that your doctrine is the only truth to be embraced and

\* This letter was subscribed by Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Saintler, Richard Gardiner, William Charke, and others, celebrated for their learning and piety.—*Clark’s Lives*, p. 20.—*Letter prefixed to Cartwright’s Refutation*.

† Strype’s Whitgift, p. 253, 254. ‡ Church Hist. b. ix. p. 171, 172.

§ Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 732.

entertained. You had best take heed, that you run not upon the same rock, which the papists themselves split upon, and draw upon yourself the same penalty ordained for those who alienate the hearts of the subjects both from their prince and religion." To these accusations and foul aspersions, Mr. Cartwright, with becoming christian meekness, only said, "I have the word of God for my warrant, and the example of the reformed churches for my guide, in what I have done." Dr. Longworth, on this occasion, boldly challenged him to a public disputation, but Mr. Cartwright wisely declined. He was, therefore, dismissed without receiving any ecclesiastical censure.\*

Mr. Cartwright was undoubtedly concerned for the reformation of the church; and he laboured, in the most peaceable manner, to promote it to the utmost of his power. For the accomplishment of this great object, he joined with his brethren in their associations, and united with them in perfecting and subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† He was one of the heads in these assemblies, and was sometimes chosen moderator. Though, upon his release from prison, he could not obtain his liberty to preach, but still continued under suspension, he constantly attended to his ministerial exercise in his hospital, and preached occasionally at other places, particularly at Banbury. His endeavours to carry on the English reformation towards perfection, were considered as a violation of established customs, and disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws; therefore, in the year 1590, he was summoned to appear before the high commission. Previous to his appearance before this terrible tribunal, he wrote the following excellent and generous letter, addressed "To the right worshipful Mr. Puckering, one of her majesty's serjeants at law:"‡

"Having received Mr. Puckering's letter on Wednesday, I came no sooner with it: the cause hath been in part a strain of one of my legs, and in part the importunity of my friends, begging me to stay until I had gotten some ability of my leg, to travel with more commodity. And now that I am come to the town, I bring not the letter myself. The cause is, that being sent for by a pursuivant, I was loath to be attached before I had made my appearance without attachment, and that I might as it were be mine own

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxviii. p. 443, 444.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 105, 106.



pursuivant: and partly also because I was loath that your favour toward me should any way appear to any manner of hurt of yours, and no good of mine.

“And now, good sir, confessing myself greatly beholden unto you in my behalf and the behalf of my wife, my humble desire is, that I may yet further be beholden unto you in the behalf of the poor church at Warwick, that likely enough may be deprived of all manner of tolerable ministry, both for the good of your own family, which is great, and in regard of other poor souls there: that if the times will not bear us who are there now; yet there may be some such provided, as, differing in judgment from us, may notwithstanding, both in some good skill and care, proceed in the edification of the church, without bitterness of spirit against other poor men who are otherwise minded. This I am bolder to crave at your worship's hand, as I understand, and was glad of, that the town hath chosen you to the recordership, which may be a singular means of doing much good unto the town, and amongst others, that good which it pleased you to talk with me of. This I was bold to write in fear of being severed from doing any more service there, and yet not known to myself of any breach of law, whereby I may be touched. Only I fear to be committed for refusing the oath *ex officio mero*. Thus I humbly commend you to the gracious keeping and blessing of God in Jesus Christ. May 20, 1590.

“Yours to command in the Lord,

“THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.”

Thus our divine prepared for the approaching storm. He was immediately convened before the high commission, and cast into prison; and, September 1st, in this year, *thirty-one* articles were exhibited against him, the substance of which is the following:

1. That Mr. Cartwright, being lawfully made deacon according to the church of England, hath forsaken and renounced the same.

2. That, to shew his contempt of this calling, he hath obtained a new ordination in foreign parts, not according to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm.

3. That, by virtue of this vocation, he hath established at Antwerp and Middleburg, a certain presbytery and eldership ecclesiastical.

4. That, by the said eldership, certain persons, being Englishmen, were ordained to be ministers, not according to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm.

5. That this eldership, so established, hath used ecclesiastical censures.

6. That the said Thomas Cartwright, in his public ministry there, hath not used the Book of Common Prayer, but conformed to some of the foreign churches.

7. That since his return from beyond seas, he hath promised, to the utmost of his power, to promote the peace of the church.

8. That he, having no ministry in this church, and without any license, hath taken upon him to preach at Warwick and other places.

9. That at sundry times, he hath shewed his dislike of the government of this church, and various parts of the liturgy; and hath persuaded others to do the same.

10. That he hath traduced and spoken against the bishops, and other governors of this church.

11. That he hath such hatred against them, he hath prayed publicly to this effect: "Because they who ought to be pillars in the church, do bend themselves against Christ, and his truth, O Lord, give us grace, and power, all as one man, to set ourselves against them."

12. That at sundry times and places he hath spoken against the laws, government, orders, prayers, and ceremonies of the church.

13. That preaching at the baptism of one of Job Throgmorton's children, he spoke much in justification of government by the eldership in every congregation.

14. That he could not endure those who defended the laws, government, and orders of the church.

15. That in his sermons at Warwick and elsewhere, he hath often delivered many frivolous and indiscreet positions.

16. That by his persuasions, sundry persons refused to give thanks after child-birth, according to the order prescribed.

17. That at sundry times, when he communicated at the Lord's supper, he sate, or stood upon his feet, and persuaded others to do the same.

18. That before the bishop he spoke in justification of these things; and declared the Book of Common Prayer was not established by law.

19. That in contempt of the ecclesiastical authority, he hath preached since he was under the sentence of suspension.

20. That his man-servant having a bastard child fathered

upon him, he caused him to perform penance, taking upon him the authority of the ordinary.

21. That he and some others have kept divers public fasts, and have invited more to join them, without the authority of the queen.

22. That since he came to Warwick, he hath caused much faction, by distinguishing the people into *godly* and *profane*.

23. That he doth know who were the writers, printers, or dispersers of the writings under the name of Martin Mar-Prelate.

24. That being asked his opinion of these books, he insinuated, that as the bishops would not amend by grave writings, it was meet they should be dealt with to their great shame and reproach.

25. That he penned or procured to be penned, all or some part of the book, entitled *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra verbo Dei descripta*; and he recommended the same to the judgment and censure of others.

26. That the said Thomas Cartwright and sundry others have met in assemblies, termed synods, in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, &c.

27. That at such synods, it hath been concluded, that all ministers should subscribe the said "Book of Discipline," and be governed by it.

28. That at such synods, a moderator was by him and them chosen, according to the order of the said book.

29. That at such assemblies, he did, with others, dispute upon certain articles, and set down their determinations.

30. That he, with others, in an assembly at Cambridge, did conclude upon certain decrees, which were afterwards considered and allowed at Warwick.

31. That all the proceedings of such meetings have been set down, from time to time, by the said Thomas Cartwright and others.\*

These articles are presented to the reader as a curious specimen of the charges alleged against the puritans, that he may judge of their evil nature and dangerous tendency. We may suppose this long list of crimes contains all the evil things that even his enemies could bring against him. They were exhibited against Mr. Cartwright by Bishop Aylmer and other commissioners, who required him to take the oath *ex officio*. He, indeed, offered to clear himself of



some of the charges upon his oath; but because he thought it wrong to accuse himself, or to bring his friends into trouble, he refused to answer the rest: and if this would not give satisfaction to his spiritual judges, he was resolved to submit to whatever punishment they might be disposed to inflict upon him. He was, accordingly, sent to the Fleet; but by the advice of the treasurer, the archbishop, his old adversary, was not present at his commitment. During the following month, Mr. Cartwright appeared twice before the high commission; when the above oath was again required of him, but he still refused to take it, because, in his opinion, it was contrary both to the laws of God and the realm. Yet, he was still willing to answer part of the charges upon his oath, and would give them reasons for refusing the rest.\* But his judges remaining inflexible, he was sent back to prison, where he continued a long time. Mr. Cartwright was not alone in these sufferings. The rest of his brethren were at the same time called before the same tribunal; and refusing the oath, for the same reasons, were committed to various prisons, where they remained several years.

May 13, 1591, Mr. Cartwright and his brethren were brought before the star-chamber, where they were treated with much abuse, for refusing the above oath. And when Counsellor Fuller stood up to plead in behalf of the prisoners, he was commanded to be silent; and told, that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the gallies or perpetual banishment, the latter of which, the attorney-general thought proper for them, provided it was to some remote place from whence they might not return.† From the star-chamber, they were sent back to the high commission, where Bancroft and others had a long and warm dispute with Mr. Cartwright about the oath.‡ Bishop Aylmer, on this occasion, threw out several reproaches against Mr. Cartwright, still requiring him to take the oath.§ The attorney-general did the same; and declared how dangerous a thing it was, that men, upon the conceit of

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 337, 338.

+ Ibid. p. 360, 361.

† Ibid. p. 362—366.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 310—319.

§ One of the reproaches which Aylmer cast upon Cartwright, was, that he had deceived the privy council, by informing them that he was afflicted with the gout and sciatica, when that was not the case. Cartwright, however, proved by a written testimonial from his physician, that this accusation was false: but the Archbishop of Canterbury afterwards took this testimonial from Mrs. Cartwright, and refused to restore it again.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 286. Edit. 1778.

their own heads, but under pretence of conscience, should refuse to receive those things which had been so long a time established by law. Mr. Cartwright then assigned various reasons for his refusal, desiring permission to vindicate himself against the reflections of the bishop and the attorney. And though he reminded the bishop, that he had promised him the liberty of answering for himself, his lordship refused, saying, "that he had no leisure to hear his answer."\* This oppressive prelate had found time to accuse and reproach Mr. Cartwright, but, contrary to his own promise, could find no time to hear his vindication!

From the high commission, Mr. Cartwright and his friends were again sent to the star-chamber, when a bill was exhibited against them, containing *thirty-four* articles, chiefly relating to their associations and discipline, and, in substance, the same as those already mentioned.† They underwent many examinations. On one occasion, the following articles of inquiry were administered:‡ "Where are the assemblies held?—When, and how often?—Who attended the said assemblies?—What matters were treated of in them?—Who made, set forth, or corrected the Book of Discipline?—Who subscribed, or submitted to the said book?—Is the king to be accounted among the governors of the church, or among those which are to be governed by pastors, doctors, or such like?—Is it lawful for the sovereign prince to appoint orders and ceremonies to the church?—Is the ecclesiastical government established by her majesty's authority within the church of England, lawful and allowed by the word of God?—Are the sacraments, as ministered according to the Book of Common Prayer, godly and rightly ministered?" On another occasion, eighteen articles of inquiry were administered, relating to Messrs. Thomas Cartwright, Humphrey Fenn, Edward Lord, Edmund Snape, Andrew King, Daniel Wight, William Proudlove, Melancthon Jewel, and John Payne; when their brethren, Messrs. Henry Alvy, Thomas Edmunds, William Perkins, Edmund Littleton, John Johnson, Thomas Barber, Hercules Cleavelly, Anthony Nutter, and Thomas Stone, considered it their duty to take the oath, by which they discovered many things relative to their associations.§

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 319.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 67—69.

‡ Strype's Aylmer, p. 321, 322.

§ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 157—164.

The above prisoners, in answer to the charges brought against them, maintained, "That their associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any law of the realm:—That they exercised no jurisdiction, nor moved any sedition, nor transacted any affairs, inconsistent with their duty to their prince, and the peace of the church:—That they had agreed upon some regulations to render their ministry more profitable, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no law:—And as to the oath, they refused it, not in contempt of the court, but as contrary to the laws of God and nature."\* But their answers proving unsatisfactory, they were sent back to prison, where they continued two years without any further process, or being admitted to bail.

During their confinement in prison, King James of Scotland, afterwards the inveterate enemy to the puritans, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated June 12, 1591, warmly interceded for them. In this letter, the king most earnestly requested her majesty to shew favour to Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, on account of their great learning and faithful travels in the gospel.+ Mr. Cartwright himself, being exceedingly afflicted with the gout and sciatica, which were much increased by lying in a cold prison, petitioned for his liberty. He wrote a most humble and pious letter to Lady Russel, and another to Treasurer Burleigh, beseeching them to intercede with the queen for his enlargement, though it were upon bond. He expressed, on this occasion, his very great concern, that her majesty should be so highly offended at him, seeing he had printed no books for the last thirteen years, that could give the least uneasiness; and having already declared his dislike of Martin Mar-Prelate, and that he never had a hand in any of the books under his name, nor in any other satirical pamphlets; and that in the course of his ministry at Warwick, during the last five years, he had avoided all controversy.† Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and other celebrated persons, wrote an excellent letter to the treasurer, in favour of the prisoners, earnestly beseeching that they might not be more hardly dealt with than papists.§ After waiting six months longer, they presented a petition to the lords of the council, dated December 4, 1591, to be enlarged upon bail. They wrote, at the same time, to the treasurer, with their request that he would

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv, p. 142—152.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 203, 204.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 48—53.

§ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 155, 156.



forward it, assuring him of their loyalty to the queen, and their peaceable behaviour in the church. "We doubt not," say they, "but your lordship is sensible, that a year's imprisonment and more, must strike deeper into our healths, considering our manner of life, than a number of years to men of a different occupation. Your lordship knows, that many papists, who deny the queen's supremacy, have been enlarged; whereas we have all sworn to it; and if the government so require, are ready to take the oath again." This petition was subscribed by the following ministers, all prisoners for the truth of Christ:

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, | EDWARD LORD,       |
| HUMPHREY FENN,     | EDMUND SNAPE,      |
| ANDREW KING,       | WILLIAM PROUDLOVE, |
| DANIEL WIGHT,      | MELANCHTON JEWEL.* |
| JOHN PAYNE,        |                    |

The prisoners also applied to the archbishop, who refused to consent to their enlargement, unless they would, under their own hands, declare the church of England to be a true church; that the whole order of public prayers and ceremonies might be lawfully observed; and renounce in future all their assemblies, classis, and synods, as unlawful and seditious; which they utterly declined.+ These applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at length to address the queen herself; for which purpose they drew up a declaration, dated April, 1592, containing an impartial statement of their case, and a full answer to the several charges brought against them.† Notwithstanding all these endeavours, Mr. Cartwright did not obtain his release for some time. But at length, by the favour of the archbishop, who it was said, "feared the success of so tough a conflict;"§ he was released upon promise of his quiet and peaceable behaviour, and restored to his hospital at Warwick, where he made his promise good,|| and continued without further molestation the rest of his days. His fellow-prisoners were released most probably about the same time; but of this we have obtained no certain information. It is, indeed, observed of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, "That it pleased God so to order it, that those very witnesses who were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 72, 73.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 370; Appen. p. 153—156.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 85—91.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 204.

|| Paule's Whitgift, p. 72.

dismissed and sent home, much more honoured and beloved than before.”\*

The pardon and release of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren was procured of the queen, as Sir George Paule asserts, by the intercession of Archbishop Whitgift. He also observes, that when Mr. Cartwright was freed from his troubles, he often repaired to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and for several years tolerated his preaching at Warwick, upon his promise not to impugn the laws, orders, and government of the church of England, but promote, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of the same. With these terms, it is said, he complied. Notwithstanding, when the queen understood that he preached again, though in a temperate manner, according to his promise, she would not permit him any longer without subscription; and she was not a little displeased with the archbishop for his past connivance.†

Though Mr. Cartwright never groaned any more under the iron rod of persecution, his character was afterwards slanderously aspersed. Many writers of the episcopal party, have reproached him as being concerned with Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, in their mad conspiracy and other singularities. This reproach was, however, made abundantly manifest, to the great honour of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, and the shame of their enemies. He published an “Apology” of himself, against the slanders of Dr. Sutcliff; and, says my author, “I have Mr. Cartwright’s own answer to Dr. Sutcliff, in manuscript, which doth so fully confute the shameful story of his confederacy with these men, as will shame the slanderer to any impartial reader.”‡ Fuller himself acquits Mr. Cartwright and his brethren in these words: “True it is,” says he, “they as cordially detested Hacket’s blasphemies, as any of the episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the *nonconformist*, abhorred Hacket the *heretic*, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety.”§

Mr. Cartwright, in his old age, was much afflicted with the stone and gout, by lying in cold prisons; yet he did not relinquish his public labours; but continued to preach when, with the utmost difficulty, he could scarcely creep into the pulpit. The Lord’s day before his death, he preached his last sermon, from Eccl. xii. 7.—*Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.*

\* Clark’s Lives, p. 18.

† MS. Remarks, p. 176.

‡ Paule’s Whitgift, p. 70—72.

§ Church Hist. b. ix. p. 206.

The Tuesday morning following, after spending two hours upon his knees in private prayer, he signified to Mrs. Cartwright that he had found unutterable joy and comfort, and that God had given him a glimpse of heaven before his departure; and in a few hours he departed in peace, enjoying the salvation of Jesus Christ. He died December 27, 1603, aged sixty-eight years.\* His mortal remains were interred in his own hospital at Warwick, when Mr. John Dod preached his funeral sermon. He married the sister of the famous Mr. John Stubbs, whom he left to bemoan her painful loss.

During the whole of his life, Mr. Cartwright was indefatigably laborious. He was a constant preacher when he enjoyed his liberty. During his abode at Warwick, besides taking the most exact care of the hospital, he often preached at both the churches on the Lord's day, and at one of them on the Saturday. This he did without receiving any reward for his services. It does not, therefore, appear very probable, that before his death he was *grown rich*, as some of our historians insinuate;† especially as the income of his hospital was only about one hundred pounds a-year. Indeed, he was not concerned to be rich in this world. For when he was preacher to the merchants at Antwerp, and found by their losses that their estates were decreased, he returned them the salary which they allowed him. And when he was a prisoner in the Fleet, a present of thirty pounds was sent him by one of the nobility, but he took only ten shillings, returning the rest to the donor, with many thankful acknowledgments. Also, when the Earl of Leicester offered him the provostship of Eton college, saying, it was one hundred pounds more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place; Mr. Cartwright replied, "that the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him."‡

Few persons whose names are handed down to posterity have been treated by party historians with greater misrepresentation and abuse. Some of them have ventured to intimate, that before his death he changed his sentiments about nonconformity; for which, however, there is no certain evidence; at least, they have produced none. Dugdale calls him the standard-bearer of the puritans, and says, he was the first in the church of England, who began to pray extempore before sermon. Mr. Strype very unjustly denominates

\* Clark's Lives, p. 21.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 2.—Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 216.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 18—21.



him, "the first broacher of puritarianism."\* Mr. Clark; who treats his memory with great impartiality, says, "he was a hard student, continuing his assiduity and close application to the end of his days. Although, on account of excessive pains and bodily infirmities, he was obliged, towards the close of life, to study continually upon his knees, he rose as usual, at three o'clock in the morning; which practice he continued to the last. His humility and meekness were not the least conspicuous features in his character. He was far from courting the applause of men; nor could he endure to hear himself commended, or to hear any titles ascribed to himself, which at all savoured of ambition. Though he was uncommonly popular, he did not seek popularity, but laboured to avoid it as much as possible. With these thoughts of himself, it is added, he could not endure to hear even his adversaries reproached; and if any persons spoke disgracefully of them in his presence, he would sharply reprove them, saying, 'It is a christian's duty to pray for his enemies, and not to reproach them.'"+ With what degree of truth then does a late writer assert, "that he was highly conceited of his own talents and learning?"† Indeed, his highest ambition was to debase himself, and to advance the glory and kingdom of Jesus Christ. He was an acute disputant, an admired preacher, and eminently liberal, especially to poor scholars; and, says Fuller, "he was most pious and strict in his conversation, a pure Latinist, an accurate Grecian, an exact Hebrean, and, in short, a most excellent scholar."‡

Notwithstanding all these excellent qualifications, his piety, his learning, and his good sense are most warmly censured by a modern writer. He charges Mr. Cartwright, in his correspondence with Sir Michael Hicckes, with saying, "that prayer was as it were a bunch of keys, whereby we go to all the treasures and storehouses of the Lord; his butteries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe." Mr. Cartwright might use these words in a familiar correspondence; and what does it prove? This, it is readily admitted, was too much the taste of those times: but our author makes almost every thing that is bad of these few words. For he immediately breaks forth into a strain of most triumphant

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 554.—Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 3.—Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, vol. i. p. 443. Edit. 1730.—Strype's Parker, Pref. p. 5.

† Clark's Lives, p. 18—21.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 193.

§ Church Hist. b. x. p. 3.

interrogation, saying, "Does fanaticism extinguish all taste and judgment? or is it only in minds originally weak, that the infection can fix itself? Which ever way the reader may solve the problem, he will naturally ask, Was this the man that was to improve what had been done by Cranmer and Ridley, by Parker and Nowell, and their coadjutors? to give us a form of worship more pure and edifying, more dignified and devout?" But this eloquent calumniator does not stop here. He felt the poetic flame arise; and therefore immediately asks,\*

"Is this the region, this the soil, this the clime,  
That we must change for heaven? this mournful gloom  
For that celestial light?"

We do confess, that so much bombast, scurrility, and bare-faced misrepresentation were scarcely ever found within so small a compass. The reader will at the same time easily perceive, that the whole is designed to extol the church of England, if not above perfection, at least beyond the possibility of amendment; and to blacken the character and disgrace the memory of that man, who was justly esteemed one of the most celebrated divines of the age in which he lived. But whether the treatment which Mr. Cartwright received, was not extremely unjust and cruel; and whether it does not stand as a monument of lasting reproach to those prelates who took an active part in promoting it, is left with every impartial reader to judge. Dr. Thomas Cartwright, bishop of Chester in the reign of James II., and who went the most infamous lengths in support of that monarch's measures, is thought, with some appearance of probability, to have been the grandson of our famous puritan.†

His WORKS, in addition to those whose titles have been already given.—1. A Brief Apology against all such Slandorous Accusations as it pleaseth Mr. Sutcliff, in his pamphlets, most injuriously to load him with, 1596.—2. A Body of Divinity, 1616.—3. A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament, 1618.—4. *Commentaria practica in totam Historiam Evangelicam, ex quatuor Evangelistis harmonice concinnatam*, 1630. (An elegant edition of this work was printed at Amsterdam, in 1647, entitled, "*Harmonia Evangelica, Commentario, analytico, metaphrastico, practico, illustrata, &c.*")‡—5. *Commentarii succincti & dilucidi in Proverbia Solomonis*, 1638.—6. *Metaphrasis & Homiliæ in librum Solomonis qui inscribitur Ecclesiastes*, 1647.—7. Glosses and Annotations.

\* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 225.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 287. Edit. 1778.

‡ Ibid. p. 286.

EDWARD PHILIPS, A.<sup>m</sup>.—This zealous puritan was educated in Pembroke college, Oxford. Afterwards he settled in London, and became preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he had a large congregation, mostly persons of puritan principles, by whom, says Wood, he was esteemed "a person zealous for the truth of God, powerful in his calling, faithful in his ministry, careful of his flock, peaceable and blameless in his life, and constant and comfortable in his death." And surely the people of his own particular charge were as likely to know these things as any others. Our author denominates him a zealous Calvinist, an avowed enemy to popery, and constantly laborious in the propagation of puritanism and practical religion.\*

His excellent endowments were not, indeed, a sufficient protection against the oppressions of the times. For, in the year 1596, he was cited before Archbishop Whitgift and other high commissioners, when he was suspended from his ministry and committed to the Gatehouse. The crimes for which he was thus punished, were contained in the following articles:—1. "That he broke the order appointed, by preaching on a *Thursday*, instead of *Wednesday*, which was appointed to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer.—2. That by preaching on *Thursday*, he turned a day of rejoicing and feasting into a day of mourning and abstinence; which, by hindering hospitality, made the case worse.—3. That he continued the service much *too long*, even from nine o'clock till one.—4. That as soon as the service was ended, he very schismatically led many people to hear Mr. Downham's sermon.—5. That he agreed with Mr. Downham to keep his exercise with fasting in the afternoon." These were the marvellous charges alleged against him, for which he met with the above oppressive treatment. Our learned historian, indeed, says, "It is but just to observe, that Mr. Philips did observe the *Wednesday*, only he preached on the *Thursday*, because, being his regular lecture day, he was likely to have a larger congregation: that he went not to Mr. Downham's church till an hour and a half after he had finished at his own: that when he went he had only the company of Mrs. Ratcliff and his fellow minister, and both their wives; and that he did not persuade Mr. Downham to keep his exercise in the afternoon; but he had purposed so to do, even before he spoke to him about it, as Mr. Downham himself confessed before the high commissioners."†

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 276, 277.

† Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 490, 491.



From this impartial statement, it may be doubted whether so excellent and useful a minister of Christ was ever suspended and cast into prison upon such trivial and ridiculous charges before.

It does not appear how long the good man continued in a state of confinement. If his persecutors considered the above charges so dangerous to the episcopal authority and the church of England, as to justify their proceedings, he might remain a long time. He died about the year 1603. Mr. Philips most probably never published any thing himself; but after his death, in 1605, Sir Henry Yelverton, afterwards judge, who having been his constant hearer, had taken down some of his sermons as they were delivered, published a volume, entitled, “Two and thirty godly and learned Sermons.”\*

MR. MIDGLEY was many years vicar of Rochdale in Lancashire, and a man of high reputation in his time. He is denominated a grave and godly minister, whose praise was great in the gospel.+ In the year 1585, he was appointed by the Bishop of Chester, to be one of the moderators of the religious exercises in that diocese.† He was greatly admired and beloved by the puritans. Dr. Chaderton made mention of him, at the Hampton-court conference, in 1603. He requested on that occasion, that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain ministers in Lancashire, and particularly upon the vicar of Rochdale. The request was no sooner presented, than Archbishop Whitgift replied, saying, “You could not have light upon a worse. For not many years ago it was proved before me, that by his irreverent usage of the eucharist, in dealing the bread out of a basket, every one putting in his hand and taking out a piece, he made many loathe the communion, and refuse to come to church.”§ His grace in this statement was certainly mistaken. It could not be Mr. Midgley’s “irreverent usage of the eucharist,” in the way described, but their own ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, which produced those evils.

Mr. Midgley was the pious and laborious minister of Rochdale nearly fifty years, and is said to have been instru-

\* Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 277.

† Clark’s *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologie*, p. 68.

‡ Strype’s *Annals*, vol. ii. Appen. p. 75.

§ Fuller’s *Church Hist.* b. x. p. 20.

mental in the conversion of thousands of souls; yet he was silenced and deprived by the Bishop of Chester for nonconformity.\* He was the happy means in the conversion of Mr. Richard Rothwell, another worthy puritan divine. Mr. Midgley's son was also vicar of Rochdale, and a man of distinguished eminence. He presented "The Abridgment of the Lincolnshire Ministers' Reasons" to Bishop Morton, who afterwards published an answer to it. Both father and son were deprived for nonconformity. The latter, after his deprivation, turned physician, and was afterwards prosecuted for refusing to kneel at the sacrament.†

**WILLIAM HUBBOCK, A. M.**—He was born in the county of Durham, in the year 1560, and educated first in Magdalen-hall, then in Corpus Christi college, Oxford. Afterwards entering upon the sacred function, says the Oxford historian, he was in great repute for his learning;‡ and he might have added, that he was a divine of distinguished worth, on account of his christian piety, his excellent preaching, and his manifold labours; and that he was highly esteemed and admired by some of the most worthy persons in the nation. Mr. Strype denominates him one of Mr. Cartwright's fraternity, yet a modest nonconformist.

In the year 1590, Mr. Hubbock was cited before Archbishop Whitgift, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth, when he was charged with having preached a sermon at Oxford, in which he made some reflections upon a certain great person (this was the archbishop,) which the commissioners held to be undutiful and seditious. He was therefore required, as a just punishment of his crime, to enter into bonds that he would preach no more, nor come again within ten miles of Oxford. Upon the proposal of these demands, he thus replied, in the presence of his judges: "I cannot, with a safe conscience, enter into any such bonds, nor do any thing by which I should willingly exclude myself from the exercise of my ministry. Nevertheless, if I must be put to silence, I had rather be committed to prison, than thus silence myself; especially unless I had committed some fault, by preaching some false doctrine, or by publishing some offence, for which I justly deserved to be punished." Whitgift, at the same time, required him to subscribe, signifying, that, if he would comply, he should be dismissed,

\* Burges's Answer Rejoined, p. 218. Edit. 1631.

† Paget's Defence, Pref. ‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 281.

and his troubles ended. But the good man refused subscription, as well as entering into bonds; and, accordingly, received the ecclesiastical censure.\*

In this state of perplexity and distress, Mr. Hubbock made application to Sir Francis Knollys; who, most warmly espousing his cause, immediately wrote to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, recommending his distressing case to his lordship's consideration. But the zealous intercessions of these great statesmen were of no avail whatever. Whitgift and his brethren had passed a decree against Mr. Hubbock, which, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, could not be altered. With this decree, however, the treasurer was much displeased. Though our learned historian has altogether failed in saying what the decree was, we may easily conjecture, that, as it proceeded from Lambeth, and was against a divine of puritan principles, it savoured not of the things of Jesus Christ.

But the treasurer did not immediately relinquish the cause of this injured servant of Christ. One repulse from the archbishop did not discourage him. Beholding the severity with which the good man was treated, he still took his part, and wrote again to the archbishop, boldly declaring, "That Mr. Hubbock had committed no offence, only he had said in his sermon, *that a great nobleman* (meaning the archbishop) *had kneeled down to her majesty, for staying and hindering her intent to reform religion.*" Sir Francis Knollys also wrote again to the treasurer in these words: "You know how greatly and how tyrannically the archbishop hath urged subscription to his own articles *without law*; and that he has claimed a right of superiority in the bishops over the inferior clergy, from God's own ordinance, to the great injury of her majesty's supreme government. Though at present he does not profess to claim it; yet I think he ought openly to retract it."†

The worthy endeavours of these illustrious statesmen proved altogether ineffectual. The inflexible prelates would not alter their purpose. The good man continued under the sentence of his spiritual judges; but how long, or whether he was ever restored, our materials fail to afford sufficient information. Mr. Hubbock published "An Oration Gratulatory upon King James's Coronation," 1604; and several sermons.

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 341.

† Ibid. p. 341, 342.



THOMAS CAREW was born of the ancient and worthy family of his name in Cornwall, educated in the university of Oxford, and, entering upon the sacred function, became a frequent and zealous preacher. He received ordination from the Bishop of Worcester, and was licensed by Archbishop Grindal and Bishop Aylmer, from whom, on account of his excellent preaching, he received high commendations. He afterwards became minister at Hatfield Peverel, in Essex; but having acquainted the bishop by letter, that in the county of Essex, within the compass of sixteen miles, there were twenty-two nonresidents, thirty insufficient and scandalous ministers, and, at the same time, nineteen ministers silenced for refusing subscription, his lordship, instead of being pleased with the information, convened Mr. Carew before the high commission, and charged him, without the smallest evidence, with setting up a presbytery, and contemning ecclesiastical censures. It was further alleged against him, "That he was chosen by the people; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer; that he denied that Christ descended into the regions of the damned; and that he kept persons from the communion, when there was more need to allure them to it."\* These charges being brought against him, the bishop, to make short of it, tendered him the oath *ex officio*; upon the refusal of which Mr. Carew was immediately committed to the Fleet, and another minister sent to supply the place. His successor was soon found guilty of adultery; and when the parishioners petitioned Bishop Aylmer for his removal, and the restoration of their former minister, his grace said, "That he would not, for all the livings he had, put a poor man out of his living for the fact of adultery."†

Mr. Carew having left an account of his troubles, let us hear him speak for himself. "The bishop," says he, "first granted me a license to preach, and much commended my preaching; but afterwards, upon the complaint of secret enemies, he sent for me, and took it from me. Before I had been at Hatfield above seven weeks, because I would not wear the surplice, he suspended me, and I continued under suspension half a year. My parishioners were at considerable expense and trouble in presenting many supplications unto him, that I might be released from suspension and restored to my ministry, but without success. Afterwards

\* MS. Register, p. 651, 652.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 120, 121.

† MS. Register, p. 653, 654.

I went to his lordship myself, to know the reasons of his displeasure; and when I said I would yield in all things according to the word of God, he replied, 'That addition, according to the word of God, is your *knarish trick*; but you shall observe *all things*.' At length," says Mr. Carew, "in about a twelvemonth after, by the kind favour of one who was intimate with the bishop, my liberty was obtained. Nevertheless, by further complaints of known enemies, I was again suspended; and after I was cleared by my judges, I obtained my release from suspension. Soon after this, I was again brought into trouble; and refusing to take the oath to answer their articles against myself, I was committed to the Fleet."\* His commitment was dated November 16, 1585.

Mr. Carew, and Mr. Allen, his patron, were both committed to prison at the same time. They both offered bail, but it was refused. Afterwards, it was offered them by the bishop, upon these conditions: "That Allen, the patron, would not disturb the minister who was appointed to preach there, nor disquiet him in reading the service; and that Mr. Carew would preach no more in his diocese, without a further license."† These conditions did not, however, meet their approbation. During their imprisonment in the Fleet, Mrs. Carew presented a supplication to the queen, for the release of her husband, in which she addressed her majesty as follows:—"This most humbly beseecheth your most royal majesty, to relieve the distressed state of your poor handmaid, who sueth to your highness in behalf of her husband, a minister of the gospel, who hath been accused by certain papists, and who incensed the Bishop of London against him. And for refusing to subscribe to two of the archbishop's articles, which appear to him to be contrary to the word of God and the laws of the realm, the bishop hath suspended, deprived, and twice committed him to prison; and hath now a third time committed him, because he is unwilling to give up preaching till the bishop license him. Wherefore, I heartily beseech your majesty, that you will set my husband at liberty; that, by preaching the word, he may further instruct the people how to pray for the present peace and everlasting felicity of your most excellent majesty."‡

Mr. Carew and his worthy patron, having suffered imprisonment for some time, made application to the privy council,

\* MS. Register, p. 653—655.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 121, 122.

‡ MS. Register, p. 658, 659.



and were both released from prison. This so greatly displeased Bishop Aylmer, that he sent to the council a very angry letter, calling the prisoners *knaves, rebels, rascals, fools, petty gentlemen, precisians, &c.*;\* and told their honours, that if such men were countenanced, he must yield up his authority. But the bishop never left our pious divine till he had hunted him out of his diocese.† Mr. Carew was author of “Several Sermons,” 1603; and “Four Godly Sermons,” 1605. He was living at the period last mentioned.

GEORGE CORYAT, B. D.—He was born at Salisbury, educated in grammar learning at Wickham school, and admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford. In the year 1566, when Queen Elizabeth visited the university, he, together with Mr. William Rainolds, received her majesty and her train at New College; on that occasion he delivered an oration, for which he received great applause and a handsome purse of gold.‡ He afterwards took his degrees, and, in 1570, became rector of Odcomb, in Somersetshire, where he continued to the end of his days. In 1594, he was preferred to the prebend of Warthel, in the cathedral of York. He was a person much admired for his refined taste in Latin poetry, and his excellent productions are often quoted by the learned men of those times. He died at Odcomb, March 6, 1606, and his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church. Wood denominates him a most accomplished scholar, and an excellent and admired poet;§ but says, he was a puritan; and no true son of the church of England.|| Mr. Coryat had a son called Thomas, author of “Crudities hastily gobbled up in five Months Travels,” and some other pieces; but was a man of great eccentricity, having much learning, especially in the original and eastern languages, but wanted judgment. He travelled through a great part of Europe, and the various countries of the east, on foot; and distinguished himself by walking nine hundred miles in one

\* While this tyrannical prelate abused and persecuted the pious and useful puritans with the utmost cruelty, he made his own porter minister of Paddington, who, in a few years, through blindness and old age, became unable to serve the cure.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 212, 213.

† *Strype's Aylmer*, p. 122.—*Neal's Hist. of Puritans*, vol. i. p. 378.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 273. Edit. 1778.

§ *Wood's Hist. et Antiq. lib. ii.* p. 141.

|| *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 286, 346.



pair of shoes, which, as he informs us, he got mended at Zurich. He did not live, however, to complete his travels, but died at Surat in India.\* He was author of "*Poemata varia Latina*," 1611; and "*Descriptio Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ*."

FRANCIS TRIGGE, A. M.—He was born in Lincolnshire, in the year 1544, and educated in University college, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Afterwards, he entered upon the christian ministry, and became rector of Welborn, near Buckingham. He was the founder of the public library at Grantham in Lincolnshire, on the wall of which is a Latin inscription descriptive of his great charity and other excellencies. He gave a certain sum to the town of Grantham, to be distributed annually among its poor inhabitants. He died May 12, 1606, aged sixty-two years; and his remains were interred in the chancel of Welborn church. Wood styles him a noted and godly preacher, but a very strict puritan.†

His WORKS.—1. An Apology, shewing that the days wherein we live are more good and blessed than those of our Forefathers, 1589.—2. Comment. in cap. 12. ad. Rom., 1590.—3. Comment. in Rev. S. Joh., 1590.—4. Analysis capituli 24 Evangelii secundum Matthæum, 1591.—5. A Sermon preached at Grantham, 1594.—6. Touchstone of Catholic Faith, 1599.—7. The true Catholic formed, according to the Truth of the Scriptures, 1602.

PERCIVAL WYBURN, D. D.—The earliest account we meet with of this excellent divine, is in March, 1560, when, by an order from Bishop Grindal, he was ordained by Bishop Davies.‡ He was chosen proctor of the cathedral of Rochester, in the convocation of 1562; when he sat in that learned assembly, and subscribed the articles of religion.§ During the same year he became prebendary of Westminster, and, the year following, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London.|| The last he did not hold very long; for in 1564, being convened before Archbishop Parker, and refusing subscription, he was sequestered and deprived.¶ He remained under his lordship's censure till

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 358—362.—Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 35.

† Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 283, 284.

‡ Strype's *Grindal*, p. 39.

§ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 290.

|| Newcourt's *Reperit. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 534.

¶ Strype's *Grindal*, p. 98.

the year 1567, at which time, because he was of the number of those divines who were styled peaceable nonconformists, he was treated with some degree of gentleness, and obtained a license to preach; or, at least, a connivance to continue in the ministry.\*

In the year 1571, he was again convened before the archbishop and other high commissioners, at Lambeth, when he underwent an examination. Mr. Christopher Goodman, Mr. Edward Deering, and Mr. John Field, were convened at the same time. Dr. Wyburn, together with his brethren, presented on this occasion the following proposals to their lordships:—1. “I am ready to subscribe to the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as contained in the Book of Articles.—2. As to the Book of Common Prayer, appointed by public authority, it contains, even as you confess yourselves, some imperfections; and I confess the same. Yet, that I may testify my great desire of brotherly concord, I will subscribe to the doctrine of faith, and administration of the sacraments, in the same book; so far as they make for edification, and are agreeable to the fore-said Book of Articles.—And, 3. As to the apparel appointed, because it seemeth not unto me to be sufficiently authorized by the word of God, for the ministers to be required to use it, I dare not use it, for fear of offence, humbly beseeching your honours’ consideration thereof. Yet I do not judge or condemn others in using the same; for to the Lord they stand or fall, as I also do. Neither would I break the unity of the christian faith, by withdrawing my duty from preaching the truth and faith, as in the Book of Articles contained: to the end, that we may not go backwards, but forwards to perfection.”† It does not, however, appear what was the result of his examination, or of these proposals.

In the year 1573, Dr. Wyburn, with many of his brethren, was again brought before the high commission, and convened before the council, when certain articles were presented to him, requiring his subscription. But, after a long examination, refusing to subscribe, he was suspended from preaching.‡ About the same time, he wrote the excellent letter generally ascribed to him, in defence of himself and his brethren, who were deprived by the arbitrary proceedings of the prelates.§

\* Strype’s Parker, p. 243, 325, 413.

† MS. Register, p. 117.

‡ Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 534.

§ Parte of a Register, p. 1—12.

Though it does not appear how long he continued under the above suspension, he was afterwards restored to his ministry, and was preacher at Rochester. In the year 1581, he was one of the learned divines who were deemed most proper to dispute with the papists, and was nominated for that purpose.\* However, the peaceable exercise of his ministry was not of long continuance. The extended arms of the high commissioners soon again laid hold of him. He was again suspended, and continued under suspension at least five years.† Towards the close of life, he preached stately at Battersea, near London, where, by a fall, he broke his leg, and was for some time disabled from attending to the public duties of his ministry; but had the assistance of Mr. Richard Sedgwick, another puritan divine.‡ He was a learned and pious divine, a zealous enemy to popery, a constant advocate for a further reformation, and a firm and peaceable nonconformist. He died about the year 1606, at an advanced age.§ He seldom or never wore the hood and surplice for the space of forty years.||

NICHOLAS BOUND, D. D.—This learned and religious divine was educated at Cambridge, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards beneficed at Norton in the county of Suffolk. A divine of the same name was rector of Wickford in Essex; but whether the same person, we cannot fully ascertain.¶ In the year 1583, when subscription to Whitgift's three articles was rigorously imposed upon the clergy, about sixty worthy ministers in Suffolk refused to subscribe, and were, therefore, suspended from the exercise of their ministry. Dr. Bound was one of those who received this ecclesiastical censure.\*\*

That which rendered him most famous, was the publication of his book, entitled "*Sabathum veteris et novi Testamenti*; or, the true Doctrine of the Sabbath," about the year 1595. In this book, he maintained that the seventh part of our time ought to be devoted to the service of God; that christians are bound to rest on the Lord's day, as much as the Jews were on the Mosaical sabbath, the commandment about rest being moral and

\* Strype's Parker, Appen. p. 116.

† MS. Register, p. 585.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 158.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 129. (2. 1.)

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 834.

¶ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 656.

\*\* MS. Register, p. 436, 437.



perpetual; and that it was not lawful for persons to follow their studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such pleasures and recreations as were lawful on other days. The book soon obtained an extensive circulation, and produced a most pleasing reformation in many parts of the kingdom. The Lord's day, formerly profaned by interludes, may-games, morrice-dances, and other sports and recreations, now began to be observed with greater exactness, especially in corporations.\* "This doctrine," says Dr. Heylin, "carrying such a fair shew of piety, at least in the opinion of the common people, and such as did not examine the true grounds of it, induced many to embrace and defend it; and, in a very little time, it became the *most bewitching error*, and the *most popular insatuation*, that ever was embraced by the people of England!"† In this, the zealous historian at once discovers what manner of spirit he was of.

Dr. Bound's book had not been long published before it excited the enmity of persons of a contrary opinion, especially among the ruling clergy. They exclaimed against it, as putting a restraint upon christian liberty, as putting too great a lustre upon the Lord's day, and as tending to eclipse the authority of the church in appointing festivals. This was a shorter and an easier method of contending with an author, than by publishing an impartial answer to his work. And, indeed, though there was so great an outcry against the book, no one even attempted to publish any sort of a reply for several years. The first who took up his pen against it, was Mr. Thomas Rogers, in his "Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles." In the preface he declared, "It is a comfort to my soul, and will be to my dying hour, that I have been the man and the means of bringing the sabbatarian errors and impieties to the light and knowledge of the state."‡ But, surely, it would have looked as well in a clergyman, and would have afforded him an equal degree of comfort on a dying bed, if, instead of opposing an exact regard to the sabbath, he had spent his zeal in recommending a religious and holy observance of that day!§

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 227. † Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 340.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 228.

§ Mr. Rogers was beneficed at Horningsheath in Suffolk, and once a professed puritan, when he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. In 1583, he was suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles; but afterwards he altered his mind, and became a zealous conformist.—MS. Register, p. 437.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 341.

Dr. Bound might carry his doctrine too high by advancing the Lord's day in all respects to a perfect level with the Jewish sabbath. But it was certainly unworthy the character of divines, to encourage men in shooting, fencing, bowling, and other diversions on the Lord's day, especially as they were sufficiently forward in such practices without the countenance and example of their spiritual guides. Nevertheless, in the year 1599, Archbishop Whitgift called in Dr. Bound's book, and commanded that it should not be reprinted; and the year following, the Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same. These, indeed, were good remedies, says Dr. Heylin, had they been soon enough applied: yet not so good as those which were formerly applied to Copping and Thacker, who were hanged at Bury, for spreading Brown's books against the church.\* Did Dr. Bound then deserve to share the same fate, for writing in defence of the sabbath? This, however, was the shortest way of refuting his arguments. They both declared, that the doctrine of the sabbath agreed neither with the doctrine of the church of England, nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom; and that it disturbed the peace of the church and commonwealth, and tended to promote *schism* in the one, and *sedition* in the other.† Nothing, surely, could appear more absurd, or more contrary to truth. Notwithstanding all this care and labour to suppress the book, it was read and circulated in private more than ever. Many persons who never heard of it when printed, inquired for it when prohibited.

The archbishop's head had not long been laid in the dust, when Dr. Bound prepared his book for another impression; and in 1606, he published a second edition with large additions. And, indeed, such was its reputation, that scarcely any comment or catechism was published by the stricter divines, for many years, in which the morality of the sabbath was not strongly recommended and enforced.‡ But to counteract the influence of this sabbatarian doctrine, about twelve years after the above period, came forth the Declaration for Sports upon the Lord's day. This, having the sanction of public authority, opened a flood-gate to all manner of licentiousness.

His Works.—1. The Holy Exercise of Fasting, in certain Homilies or Sermons, 1604.—2. A Storehouse of Comfort for the Afflicted in Spirit, in Twenty-one Sermons, 1604.—3. The Unbelief of St. Thomas the Apostle laid open for Believers, 1608.

\* Heylin's Tracts, p. 491.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 531.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 229.

EZECHIAS MORLEY was minister at Walsham in the Willows in Suffolk, and afterwards at several other places. He was a zealous and laborious preacher, but suffered numerous oppressions on account of his nonconformity. Mr. Morley has left a circumstantial account of the troubles he underwent, which it may not be improper to lay before the reader.

“For three years,” says he, “I have been so molested by the commissary, that I could not remain to do the work of God, for any long time in any one place. They first arrested me by a warrant from the bishop, when they said, I must be bound to appear before him at Norwich by ten o’clock next morning, or go to prison. The time appointed being so very short, I yielded my body to the prison. This was in the year 1582.

“Having obtained my liberty, I became minister of Denton; then the commissary caused an act of excommunication to be entered against me, of which I had no knowledge till about a week after. I then resorted to Dr. Day, and desired he would not proceed against me, seeing he had already done me so much injury. Therefore, after much entreaty, he promised that he would not hinder me in my ministry, and so gave me his word to stay the excommunication. Notwithstanding this, in six weeks after my removal to Denton, he published an excommunication against me, and fixed it upon the door of the church at Walsham, being unknown to me, and fifteen miles from the place of my abode. Afterwards, I was arrested on the Lord’s day in the church-yard, when the Lord’s supper was about to have been administered. When the warrant was read, I told the officer, that I would remain in a bond of twenty pounds to appear the next day, which he utterly refused. When a friend offered his bond of twenty pounds, he refused this also. And when my friends proposed to enter a bond of three hundred pounds for my appearance the next day, this in like manner was refused. As I prepared to go with him, he would have taken bond; but I, being ignorant of the law, refused his offer, and, therefore, went with him to the high sheriff to Bury. Here nothing was objected against me, only I was bound over to the assizes.

“At the assizes, I was indicted for having deviated from the order of baptism, in baptizing a child a long time before I left Walsham. In this indictment, I was charged with having said, ‘do *you* forsake the devil?’ instead of



saying, ‘dost thou forsake the devil?’—and ‘will you have this child baptized in this faith?’ for ‘wilt thou be baptized in this faith?’ Upon the reading of the indictment, the judge asked me what I had to say why sentence should not be executed against me. I answered, that I had endured punishment already from the commissary. And when the judge inquired whether I had been so punished, the commissary said I had; but he did not know whether it was for this offence or some other. I was, therefore, committed to prison.”\*

In the year 1584, Mr. Morley made the following record:—“The first day of June was two years, I was committed to the Clink, by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. I was there confined seven weeks, and to this hour, I know not for what cause. I was fetched by the pursuivant upwards of forty miles, which was attended with great expense, as well as hinderance of my usefulness. I have never received any recompence for false and unjust imprisonment; neither can I obtain liberty to use my ministry with a good conscience. So that I am now ready to go a begging; yet, if allowed, I might, through the blessing of God, do some good to myself and the afflicted church of Christ, of which I am a poor member.

“EZECHIAS MORLEY.”+

It appears from the above, that Mr. Morley was for a long time suspended from the exercise of his ministry. Afterwards, being driven out of Norfolk, he preached at Ridgwell in Essex. And during the above year, warrants were issued by Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishop of London, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, requiring certain laymen to appear before them at St. Paul’s, to prove several charges against Mr. Morley. Upon their appearance before their lordships, they were required to answer the following articles of inquiry:

1. “Do you, and all of you, know Ezechias Morley, preacher; and how long have you known him?”

2. “It is objected against you, that you have been at divers preachings and lectures of the said Morley, in the church of Ridgwell in Essex, since Easter.

3. “That you have often, or some times, been, within these two years, at the said Morley’s lectures, preachings

\* MS. Register, p. 420—422.

+ Ibid.

and expositions, in some house or other place, out of any church or place appointed for public prayers. Where are those places? Who were present? And how often have you been?

4. "That you did hear or know, that the churchwardens of Ridgwell in Essex, or some other who had authority so to do, did give admonition and warning to the said Morley, that he should not preach in the said church until he had shewed sufficient license, and brought authority from the ordinary so to do."\*

Mr. Morley was convened, at the same time, and, for refusing to subscribe, was obliged to enter into a bond of one hundred pounds not to preach any more in the diocese of London.† But it does not appear what other hardships he endured.

He became rector of Roding-Alta in Essex, July 23, 1601; but resigned it by death, previous to February 18, 1607, when the next incumbent entered upon the benefice.‡

JOHN RAINOLDS, D. D.—This celebrated divine was born at Penhoe, near Exeter, in the year 1549, and educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford. At first he was a zealous papist, and his brother William a professed protestant; but engaging in conference and disputation, the brothers, it is said, converted each other; William becoming a most inveterate papist, and John an avowed protestant.§ The latter no sooner changed his views, than he applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, and soon became a celebrated preacher.

In the year 1578, he was chosen to perform the two acts of the university, which gained him great applause; and the year following was appointed to the reading of the sentences. By these exercises he was soon drawn into the popish controversy, when the papists sought to eclipse his reputation. This did not in the least discourage him in his pursuits; but, in order that he might be the better qualified for discussing this subject, he read, with indefatigable pains, all the Greek and Latin fathers, and perused all the ancient records of the church he could meet with. By these

\* MS. Register, p. 420—422.

† Ibid. p. 742.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 501.

§ Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 478, 479.

Herculean labours, he shortly became so well acquainted with the errors and superstitions of popery, that he was accounted a complete master of the controversy.

About this time, the famous John Hart, a zealous papist, had the boldness to challenge all the learned men in the nation, to try the doctrine of the church. No one was thought better qualified to encounter the daring champion than Rainolds; who was, therefore, solicited by one of her majesty's privy council. After several combats, the popish antagonist was obliged to quit the field; as appears from his own letter written from the Tower.\* This conference, subscribed by both parties, was afterwards published; which gave abundant satisfaction to all unprejudiced readers, and so greatly raised the fame of Rainolds, that he was immediately taken notice of at court. After taking his degrees in divinity, the queen appointed him divinity lecturer at Oxford. In these lectures he encountered Bellarmine, the renowned champion of the Romish church. Bellarmine was public reader in the English seminary at Rome; and as he delivered his popish sentiments, they were taken down and regularly sent to Dr. Rainolds; who from time to time commented upon them, and refuted them at Oxford. Thus Bellarmine's books on controversy were answered, even before they were printed.

We are informed, indeed, that this divinity lecture was set up on purpose to widen the breach, and increase the difference betwixt the church of England and the church of Rome; and, to accomplish this design, Dr. Rainolds, a violent anti-papist, was first placed in the chair. His lectures were numerous attended and highly applauded. But it is further observed, "that Dr. Rainolds made it his business to read against the hierarchy, and weaken the authority of the bishops."† How far this account is correct, we shall not attempt to determine; but the queen, hearing of his great fame, and his good services in opposing the church of Rome, preferred him to a deanery in Lincoln, and even offered him a bishopric. The latter he modestly refused, choosing an academical life rather than the riches and splendour of any ecclesiastical preferment whatever.‡

Dr. Bancroft, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, in a sermon, January 12, 1588, maintained, "that bishops were a

\* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 482.

† Collier's *Ecccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 597.

‡ Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 482, 483.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 290.



distinct order from priests ; and that they had a superiority over them by *divine right*, and directly from God." In those times this was new and strange doctrine, even to churchmen themselves. Hitherto it had been maintained, that all the superiority of bishops over pastors or presbyters, was wholly of human appointment, devised in the third or fourth century. While his sermon was highly gratifying to most of the ruling prelates, it gave great offence to many of the clergy, and to all the friends of the puritans at court. Sir Francis Knollys \* told the archbishop, that Bancroft's opinion was contrary to the command of Christ, who prohibited all superiority among the apostles. But this gentleman, not relying on his own judgment, requested Dr. Rainolds to give his opinion of this new doctrine ; which he did in a letter at considerable length.

Dr. Rainolds, in this letter, observes, " that all who have laboured in reforming the church, for five hundred years, have taught that all pastors, whether they are entitled bishops or priests, have equal authority and power by God's word : As, the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then Wickliffe and his scholars, afterwards Husse and the Hussites ; and Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger, and Musculus. Among ourselves, we have bishops, the queen's professors of divinity, and other learned men : as, Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphrey, Fulke, &c. But why do I speak of particular persons ? It is the opinion of the reformed churches of Helvetia, Savoy, France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft will not say, that all these have approved that for sound doctrine, which was condemned by the general consent of the whole church as heresy, in the most flourishing time. I hope he will acknowledge that he was overseen, when he avouched the superiority of bishops over the rest of the clergy, to be *God's own ordinance*."†

About the year 1599, Dr. Rainolds gave up his deanery of Lincoln, and his mastership of Queen's college, when he was chosen president of Corpus Christi college. Though in the last situation he did not continue above eight years, his presidency was rendered eminently useful. In 1603, he

\* Sir Francis Knollys was one of her majesty's privy council, a man of distinguished learning and piety, a most able statesman, and a constant patron of the persecuted nonconformists ; on which account he was not well esteemed by some of the prelates.—*Fuller's Abel Red.* p. 248.—*British Biog.* vol. iii. p. 371.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 292, 293.—Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 577, 578.

was nominated one of the puritan divines to attend the conference at Hampton-court. On the side of the episcopalians, were Archbishop Whitgift, eight bishops and eight deans, with the king at the head; and on the side of the puritans, were Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Thomas Sparke, Mr. Lawrence Chadderton, and Mr. John Knewstubs, all nominated by the king.\* Dr. Rainolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly presented the following requests:

1. "That the doctrine of the church might be preserved pure, according to God's word.
2. "That good pastors might be planted in all churches, to preach the same.
3. "That church government might be sincerely ministered, according to God's word.
4. "That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety."

These requests contained all or most of what the chief puritans desired; and however reasonable they may appear, not one of them was granted. When the puritan ministers wished to discuss those things, for which they were professedly called together, the king would not allow them to proceed: but rising from his chair, he said, "If this be all that your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else do worse." They were much insulted, ridiculed, and laughed to scorn.+ Sir Edward Peyton confessed, that our divine and his brethren had not freedom of speech; and finding it of no use to attempt a reply, they held their peace.† This conference was therefore justly called, *The mock conference of Hampton-court*; and, says the judicious historian, was only a blind to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.§

In the year 1604, the king appointed Dr. Rainolds, on account of his uncommon skill in Greek and Hebrew, to be one of the translators of the Bible; but he did not live to see the work completed.‖ He was seized with the consumption of which he died, when in the midst of this laborious undertaking; yet he continued to afford his assistance even to the last. During his sickness, his learned

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 7.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 237.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 19.—Barlow's Account, p. 170.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 18.

§ Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 162.

‖ This was the present authorized translation, which his majesty committed to the care of forty-seven reverend and learned persons, divided into six companies, to whom he gave the requisite instructions for the work.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 528. Edit. 1778.



brethren in Oxford met at his lodgings regularly once a week, to compare and perfect their notes. This learned man was thus employed in translating the word of life, even till he himself was translated to life everlasting.\*

In his last sickness, all his time was spent in prayer to God, in hearing persons read, and in conferring with the translators. He remained in a lingering state till Ascension-day, when he addressed his friends, saying, "I hoped to have ascended on the very day of our Lord's ascension; but I shall stay with you a little longer, in which time I entreat you to read nothing to me, only such chapters of scripture as I shall appoint."

This reverend and learned divine, during his life, had been a famous opposer of the errors of popery; and now upon his death-bed, the papists propagated scandalous reports concerning the nature of his complaint, and began to insinuate that he now recanted. To counteract this vile calumny, his friends desired him to give some testimony of his faith, previous to his departure. This being signified to him, he shook his head, and seemed much affected, but was not able to speak. His friends, observing this, asked him whether a form might be drawn up in writing, to which God might enable him to set his hand; and he signified, by certain signs, his full approbation. Then they drew up the following paper:—"These are to testify to all the world, that I die in the profession of that faith which I have taught all my life, both in my preaching and in my writings, with an assured hope of my salvation, only by the merits of Christ my Saviour."—This paper being twice distinctly read to him, and having seriously pondered every word of it himself, he put on his spectacles, and subscribed his name in very fair characters.† The day following, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, he breathed his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer. He died May 21, 1607, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in the college chapel, being attended by the vice-chancellor, the heads of colleges, and the mayor and aldermen of the city. Dr. Henry Airay, the vice-chancellor, preached his funeral sermon; and Mr. Isaac Wake, the university orator,‡

\* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 487, 488.

† Ibid. p. 489.

‡ Wake is said to have been an elegant scholar, and no mean orator: but King James thought Sleep of Cambridge much superior to him; which occasioned his saying, "That he was inclined to sleep, when he heard Wake; and to wake, when he heard Sleep."—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 212.



delivered a funeral oration, in which he gave him the following character :

“ However others admired his knowledge, lowliness of mind, and incredible abstinence, in all which he excelled, as even exceeded wonder ; yet I do, and ever shall, chiefly admire his slighting and neglecting all ways of preferment. Neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Beza, nor Whitaker, can challenge any honour which Rainolds hath not merited. I cannot but exceedingly congratulate our country, where he was born, our mother the university, where he was educated, and that most pregnant house of excellent wits, where he learned the first rudiments of most exquisite literature.”\* Dr. Crackenthorp, his intimate acquaintance, gave this account of him : “ He turned over all writers, profane, ecclesiastical, and divine ; and all the councils, fathers, and histories of the church. He was most excellent in all tongues, useful or ornamental to a divine. He had a sharp and ready wit, a grave and mature judgment, and was indefatigably industrious. He was so well skilled in all arts and sciences, as if he had spent his whole life in each of them. And as to virtue, integrity, piety, and sanctity of life, he was so eminent and conspicuous, that to name Rainolds is to commend virtue itself.”† Bishop Hall used to say, “ That Dr. Rainolds alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, all studies, and all learning ; and that his memory and reading were nearly a miracle.” And our author adds, “ he was a prodigy in reading, famous in doctrine, and the very treasury of erudition ; and in a word, nothing can be spoken against him, only that he was the *pillar of puritanism*, and the *grand favourer of nonconformity*.”‡ Indeed, Fuller insinuates, and Dr. Crackenthorp laboured to prove, that he was not a puritan, but an exact conformist.§ In this, however, they have proved unsuccessful. For, besides subscribing the “ Book of Discipline,” he utterly disapproved of certain ecclesiastical ceremonies ; and though he wore the round cap as a *collegian*, he refused wearing the *clerical habits*.|| Granger says, that Dr. Rainolds was generally reputed the greatest scholar of his age and country ; that his memory was so retentive, he hardly knew what it was to forget ; that he

\* Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 496.

† Ibid. p. 463, 484.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 290.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 48. — Barksdale's Remembrancer, p. 9—11. Edit. 1670.

|| MS. Remarks on Hist. p. 88. (8.)

was esteemed a match for Bellarmine, the Goliath of the church of Rome; and that he was styled a living library, or a third university.\*

HIS WORKS.—1. Two Orations, 1576.—2. Six Theses, 1579.—3. A Sermon on the Destruction of the Idumeans, 1584.—4. A Sermon to the Scholars of the University, 1586.—5. The Sum of a Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart, 1588.—6. *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idolatria*, 1596.—7. The Overthrow of Stage-plays, 1599.—8. An Apologie of his Theses, 1602.—9. An Epistle to Thomas Pye, 1606.—10. A Defence of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, 1609.—11. *Censura Librorum Apocryphorum veteris Testamenti*, 1611.—12. The Prophetie of Obadiah opened and applied, 1613.—13. Letter to his Friend, concerning the Study of Divinity, 1613.—14. *Orationes Duodecem*, 1638.—15. The Discovery of the Man of Sin, 1641.—16. A Letter to Sir Francis Knollys, 1641.—17. The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid open, 1641.—18. Judgment concerning Episcopacy, 1641.—19. The Prophetie of Haggai interpreted and applied, 1649.—20. *Commentarii in tres bib. Aristot. De Rhetorica*.—21. Answer to Nich. Saunders his Books, *De Schismate Anglicano*, in Defence of our Reformation.—22. A Defence of our English Liturgy against Rob. Browne his Schismatical Book.—23. A Treatise of the Beginning and Progress of the Popish Errors.—He also published several Translations of the works of other learned men.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN was born at Nottingham, in the year 1556, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge, where he became fellow. Though he was a champion in the cause of nonconformity, he did not despise those of the contrary sentiments, but was charitable to all who differed from him in matters of discipline and ceremonies.† Upon his leaving the university, he was presented by Sir John Osbourne, a man of great learning and piety, to the rectory of Hawnes in Bedfordshire, where he spent the remainder of his days in hard study, and a constant application to his pastoral duties. Sir John was his constant and liberal benefactor. He was a man of a most angelical life, and uncommon learning, which was acknowledged even by his enemies. He lived so much under the influence of divine grace, that he was never known to be angry; and always carried with him his Greek Testament, which he read through regularly once a fortnight. His daily conversation was against the episcopal government, which he declared would shortly come down.‡ Though Mr.

\* Biographical Hist. vol. i. p. 212.

† He is, by mistake, called William. — *Fuller's Worthies*, part li. p. 319, 320.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 49, 50.

Brightman wrote against the prelacy and ceremonies of the church, and subscribed the "Book of Discipline,"\* he was no friend to separation. He published a "Disputation about Antichrist;" a "Refutation of Bellarmine;" a "Commentary of the Song of Solomon;" and another on the "Revelation of St. John." "This last," says Granger, "made a great noise in the world." In that book, he makes Archbishop Cranmer the angel having power over the fire, the Lord Cromwell the angel which came out of the temple of heaven, having the sharp sickle, and the Lord Treasurer Cecil the angel of the waters, justifying the pouring out the third vial. The church of England is the lukewarm church of Laodicea; and the angel that God loved, is the anti-episcopal church of Geneva, and that of Scotland: and the power of the prelacy is antichrist. In the reign of Charles I. he adds, when the bishops were expelled the house of peers, and several of them imprisoned, Brightman was cried up for an inspired writer, and an abridgment of his book was printed in 1644, entitled "The Revelation of the Revelation."† He desired to die a sudden death, and the Lord granted him his desire. He died very suddenly, as he was travelling with Sir John Osbourne in his coach, with a book in his hand, August 24, 1607, aged fifty-one years. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Queen's college, Cambridge.‡ He was a most pious, laborious, and learned divine; whom Mr. Cartwright used to denominate "the bright star in the church of God."§ Dr. Buckley preached his funeral sermon.

RICHARD MAUNSEL was minister of Yarmouth, and severely persecuted, together with Mr. Thomas Lad, a merchant of that place. They were brought before the Chancellor of Norwich, for a supposed conventicle; because, on the Lord's day, after public worship, they joined with Mr. Jackler, their late minister, in repeating the heads of the sermons which had that day been preached in the church. Mr. Lad was compelled, upon his oath, to answer certain articles relating to the supposed conventicle, which he could not see till after he had taken the oath. Having been twice convened before the chancellor, he was carried before the high commission at Lam-

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 220.

§ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 143.

‡ Hist. of Cam. p. 8.



beth, and required to answer, upon a new oath, such inquiries as his ecclesiastical judges were pleased to propose. This, indeed, he refused without a sight of his former answers; and was, therefore, cast into prison, where he remained a long time, without being admitted to bail. Mr. Maunsel was further charged with signing a petition to the house of commons, and with refusing the oath *ex officio*; for which he was treated in the same manner. Having suffered a long and painful confinement, the prisoners, about the year 1607, were brought to the bar upon a writ of *habeas corpus*; and having Nicholas Fuller, esq. a bencher of Gray's-inn, and a most learned man in his profession, for their counsel, he moved, that the prisoners ought to be released; because the high commissioners were not empowered by law to imprison, or to administer the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majesty's subjects. These points he laboured to prove in a most learned, argumentative, and perspicuous manner, which was looked upon as an unpardonable crime;\* and instead of serving his clients, brought the heavy indignation of the commissioners upon himself. Archbishop Bancroft, now at the head of the high commission, told the king, that Fuller was the champion of the nonconformists; and, therefore, ought to be made a public example, to terrify others from appearing hereafter in defence of the puritans.† Accordingly, he was shut up in close prison; from whence, neither by the intercession of friends, nor by his own most humble supplications, could he obtain release; but after close confinement about twelve years, he died in prison, February 23, 1619, aged seventy-six years.‡ What became of Mr. Maunsel and Mr. Lad, his clients; whether after their trial they were released, or suffered some other punishment, we have not been able to learn.

\* Fuller's Argument in the case of Thomas Lad and Richard Maunsel, edit. 1607.—This most learned, curious, and valuable Tract, consisting of 32 pages in quarto, was republished in 1641.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 56.

‡ Nicholas Fuller was member of the parliament of 1603, when he brought in two bills: the one concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the other concerning Subscription; both with a view to ease the burdens of the persecuted puritans. He was a person of great learning and piety; and finding the nonconformists grievously oppressed in their liberties, their estates, and their consciences, contrary to law, he laboured both in the house of commons, and in the courts of judicature, to procure their deliverance from the cruel oppressions of their persecutors.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 667. (2.)

THOMAS WILCOCKS, A. M.—This celebrated divine was born about the year 1549, and educated in St. John's college, Oxford. Upon his leaving the university, he became a learned, zealous, and useful preacher in Honey-lane, London. In the year 1572, he was an active person in the erection of the presbyterian church at Wandsworth in Surrey. During the same year he was brought into much trouble for his nonconformity. The puritans having for a long time sought in vain to the queen and prelates, for a further reformation of the church, now resolved to apply to the parliament. Accordingly, Mr. Wilcocks and Mr. John Field published "An Admonition to the Parliament," which they presented to the house of commons with their own hands. Though the book was much esteemed, and soon passed through four editions, the authors were apprehended and committed to Newgate, where they remained a long time, in close and miserable confinement.\* A particular account of these cruel proceedings, together with their other troubles, will be found in another place.†

The character and sentiments of these excellent divines having greatly suffered by reproach, they published a vindication of themselves, against the false imputations of unsound doctrine, and disloyalty to the queen. The piece is entitled "A Copie of a Letter, with a Confession of Faith, written by two faithful Servants of God, unto an honourable and virtuous Ladie."‡ It is subscribed with their own hands; but whether it was published before, or during their imprisonment, we are not able to learn. It is, however, a different confession from that which is noticed in the place referred to above, but was penned most probably on the same occasion. During their confinement in Newgate, Archbishop Parker sent his chaplain, one Pearson, to confer with them. This conference, dated September 11, 1572, was in the presence of Mr. Mondes their keeper, and is as follows:

Pearson. Is your name Wilcocks?

Wilcocks. Yes, verily.

P. I desire to become acquainted with you; for I know you not.

W. Neither do I know you.

\* Mr. Thomas Woodcock, a bookseller in London, for vending the Admonition, was, at the same time, committed to Newgate by Bishop Aylmer.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 57.

† See Art. Field.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 528—546.

P. I am come to converse with you, by warrant from my lord of Canterbury.

W. Indeed it is high time. I have been in close prison almost three months, and no one has yet been sent to confer with me, and reclaim me from error, if I be in any.

P. I am come to you, and your companion, Mr. Field, about a letter from you, delivered by your wives to his grace of Canterbury; wherein you charge him with unjust dealing and cruelty. He would gladly know in what particular instance you can accuse him of injustice and cruelty.

Field. To charge him with cruelty we mind not: neither did we write any such thing. But we may justly charge him with unjust dealing.

P. Why so? What is the special cause of it?

W. Because he hath kept us in close prison almost three months without a cause.

P. I judge it is not so.

F. We wrote a book in time of parliament, justly craving a redress and reformation of many abuses, for which we are thus imprisoned and uncourteously treated.

P. That book I read over at the time of its first coming out; but since that time I have not read four lines of it. To speak my mind, though some things in it be good, I dare not justify all.

W. What are the points which you so much dislike? Mention some, and we will gladly talk about them.

P. So far as I can gather, you would have in the church an equality of ministers.

W. We would not have it of ourselves; but God's word requireth it.

P. No: God's word is against it.

F. I pray you let us see the place.

P. Before I proceed, let me ask you one question. Do you both agree in this point? For if you do not agree, I shall labour in vain.

F. We agree both in this point, and all others. For, the Lord's name be praised, there is no contrariety of judgment.

P. You will allow of the name of a bishop.

W. Yes, verily.

P. And why so?

W. Because God's word alloweth the same, in the ordinary government of the church.

P. You will, also, allow the name of an apostle.



F. In one respect we do, and in another respect we do not. As it signifieth one sent of God to preach the gospel, we allow it.

P. And in what respect do you not allow it?

W. As it signifieth one sent to preach to all creatures, it hath no place in the church.

P. Why so?

W. Because the calling of the Gentiles is ended, and that office was only temporal, enduring only for a season.

P. I know many good writers are of your opinion. But how do you prove that from scripture?

W. Easily enough. It is scripture itself.

P. Let this be granted. Doth an equality of ministers, therefore, follow? St. Paul saith, God gave to his church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and some teachers.

F. That place maketh most for us, as, by the assistance of God, we hope to make evidently appear.

W. Seeing we are dealing in matters which concern God's glory, and we cannot of ourselves speak to his praise, nor without the teaching of his Spirit, let us crave his divine assistance in the exercise of prayer.

P. Will you use private or public prayer?

W. Nay, in my judgment, the more public the better.

[Mr. Field then engaged in prayer, which being finished, they resumed the conversation as follows:]

W. Now, if it please you, let us begin where we left off.

P. From the words of Paul, I reason thus: In his day there was a distinction of callings; therefore, there can be no parity of ministers.

F. That place of Paul proveth no such thing. For he there speaketh of those *extraordinary* offices which were peculiar to the state of the church in the time of the apostles: as apostles, prophets, and evangelists. Also he speaks of those offices which are *ordinary*, and to continue to the end of time: as pastors and teachers, which differ not in authority and dignity, though they may in gifts and graces.

P. I understand your meaning. I perceive you will have no minister to preach out of his own charge.

F. That is our opinion.

P. And why so?

F. Because every pastor hath work enough to take proper care of his own flock; therefore, he needeth not to thrust himself upon another man's labour.

P. It is not thrusting himself upon another, provided he cometh called?

F. Indeed, if the minister had nothing more to do than to preach a sermon or two a week, this might be pleaded; but seeing he must visit the sick, comfort the mourners, strengthen the weak, and admonish and instruct all from house to house, through the whole of his charge, I warrant you he will have little desire, and less leisure, to preach in other men's cures.

P. It is said, in the acts of the apostles, that when the apostles laboured to appease the contention betwixt the Greeks and the Jews, deacons were chosen to provide for the poor, that they might give themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word.

W. That is not contrary to what my brother hath said, but serveth very aptly to confirm it; for there the Holy Ghost includes their whole office in two particular duties. And if the apostles did well in communicating the temporal part of their office to others, that they might give themselves the more to prayer and preaching, what can we judge of those who unite *civil* functions to their ecclesiastical offices? But a wandering ministry is to be avoided, because it is an ignorant and unlearned ministry, the reformation of which, with the banishment of the pope's canon law, we have particularly set forth in our late book. And because it is directly contrary both to reason and scripture.

P. I wish to hear that reason, and see that scripture.

F. You know that a father hath much regard for his children, because they are nearly related to him: so, on the same account, hath a pastor for the children of his flock. And the scripture saith, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God. Feed the flock of God which is among you."

P. May I not then preach in other men's charges?

F. Upon certain conditions you may.

P. If I see the people lacking instruction, and out of compassion preach to them, do you think I do evil?

F. It is not for us to condemn another man's servant: to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yet you will do well to take heed to your own calling. But having your own flock, and intermeddling with other mens' charges, which God hath not commanded, you do not well. If, indeed, there be a defection among the churches, either in faith or practice, and God stir you up by an extraordinary

calling, though you preach in other places, I condemn you not.

P. What are the reasons why I may not come into another man's charge?

W. If our church were so reformed, that there was a learned and painful ministry, with a godly sincerity in every congregation, then, with a view to end a controversy, confirm a doctrine, or refute an error, you might preach in another man's charge: yet you might not do this, unless you were requested by the minister and seniority of the church, and permitted by your own.

P. You seem to have written your book in choler against some persons, rather than to promote a reformation of the church.

W. I suppose you are displeased with the sharpness of the language. We are willing to bear the blame of that.

P. I think it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness.

F. That toucheth me, and therefore I answer; as God hath his Moses, so he hath his Elijah. Isaiah calleth the rulers of his time, princes of Sodom. John calleth the scribes and pharisees, a generation of vipers. Jesus Christ calleth them adders, and an adulterous generation. And the scriptures, especially the prophets, are full of such warm expressions. We have used gentle words too long: we perceive they have done no good. The wound is become desperate; it therefore needeth a strong corrosive. It is no time to flatter men in their sins. Yet God knoweth, we meant to speak against no man's *person*, but their *places*, and *existing corruptions*.

P. Will you then take away all ecclesiastical policy? It pleaseth the prince, in policy, to make the ministers *lord-bishops* and *archbishops*. I confess this cannot be warranted by God's word; but as the christian magistrate, in policy, esteemeth it good, and not against God's word, I doubt whether they may not do it.

W. We praise God for having made you confess this truth. But, from your words, we must consider whether the policy concerning ecclesiastical matters, as contained in God's word, be not all-sufficient, and that alone which is to be followed. The ministers of Christ may take unto themselves no other titles than those which are allowed and appointed in God's word, though the christian prince would, in policy, make them ever so liberal an offer of them.

F. No. Though the prince would give them such



offices and titles, they ought, according to the word of God, to refuse them.

P. When in honour they are offered, would you have them wilfully and unthankfully to refuse them?

F. Whenever the prince is so disposed, they, in the fear of God, should say, "A greater charge is already laid upon us than we are well able to fulfil. We cannot labour so faithfully in this function as the Lord requireth; therefore, we most humbly desire your majesty to lay the charge of *civil* matters upon those who have time and skill to manage them, and to whom in duty they belong; and let us exercise ourselves in the office of the ministry alone." No names can be more blasphemous than those of *lord-bishops* and *archbishops*. They take that honour to themselves which belongs to Jesus Christ alone, as lord and king in Zion.

P. If for religion the prince appoint fasts, we ought not to obey; but if, in policy, when victuals are dear, he appoint them, we are bound in conscience to obey.

F. As you plead so much for policy, we suffer imprisonment for opposing the popish hierarchy, the policy of which is directly contrary to that which was used in the primitive church.

P. Must we then in every point follow the apostles and primitive church?

W. Yes; unless a better order can be found. In matters of government and discipline, the word of God is our only warrant; but rites and ceremonies not mentioned in scripture, are to be used or refused, as shall best appear to the edification of the church.\*

Here the conversation closed; and soon after this Mr. Wilcocks and Mr. Field presented a supplication to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, written, says Mr. Strype, in a good Latin style. In this they vindicate their own innocence, and petition his lordship to procure their liberty, by addressing him as follows:—"Confiding in your singular benevolence, we were induced to address you, hoping to obtain our liberty, and to propagate the truth. We are aware that we are spoken against and slandered by many. But let the truth speak for itself—it never seeks to be hid in corners. While we commend the innocency and equity of our cause to your consideration, we humbly and earnestly beseech you to grant us favour. We have, indeed, lately written a book, urging the reformation of horrid abuses; and

that true religion may be freed from popish superstition, and, with the queen's approbation, be again restored by the parliament. But of ourselves we have never attempted to correct or change any thing. We referred all to their judgments, according as the case may seem to them to require. And we hoped that, by this means, the peace of the church, and the reconciliation of brethren, might have been happily promoted.

"By this ecclesiastical establishment, which is so contrary to the word of God, we have all seen a sad schism in the church; and that most desirable blessing of peace, which ought to abound among those of the same religion, has been destroyed. We said nothing of the contempt of good learning, the corruption of true religion, the depraving of the ministry, and the increase of sin which it hath occasioned. All this is a sufficient justification of our book. And the corruptions and abuses which we have mentioned, are unanimously acknowledged by all the foreign reformed churches, and by the writings of men of eminent learning, to be very foul."\*

In the conclusion they humbly and earnestly entreat him to be a means of procuring their liberty. They also presented other petitions to other persons of distinction, but apparently to little effect: for they were confined in close prison in Newgate at least fifteen months. A further account of these proceedings will be found in another place.†

Mr. Wilcocks at length obtained his release from prison, but was at the same time deprived of his living in Honey-lane. Being driven from his flock and his benefice, he preached where he could, as he found an opportunity, though not without frequent molestation from the persecuting prelates. For the greatest part of ten years he preached very frequently at Bovington, in Hertfordshire. He spent a considerable portion of his time and pains in his epistolary correspondence with his numerous friends; and in his letters he commonly subscribed himself, "Thomas Wilcocks, the Lord's unworthy servant." Among his numerous and learned correspondents, was the venerable Mr. Anthony Gilby, of Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, to whom he addressed the following epistle, descriptive of the cruel oppressions of the time:‡

"Good Father Gilby, since my separation from you I have received letters from London, wherein was certified the

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 186.

† See Art. Field.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxiii. p. 441, 442.

stirs and troubles there. When I had read them, I thought it meet to make you partaker of such news as was sent unto me, to the end that you and all the godly there with you may pour forth earnest supplications for our brethren who are now in bonds, and under the cross, for the testimony of the truth. Thus standeth the case. Mr. Fulwer, our dear friend and brother in the Lord, with divers others, are prisoners in the same Compter, and for the same cause that our brother Edmunds is. Our brother Johnson, minister of the church without Temple-bar, and others with him, are laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster. Our brother Wight and others with him are committed to Newgate.

"The ministers of London were called by the archdeacon and Dr. Hames, the bishop's chancellor, to Lawrence church in the Jewry, and then subscribed, and were commanded to put on their trash; as surplices, &c. on the Sunday following. Amongst them, none had more deceived the godly than one Wager, who had many times been, but only in words, against the popish regimen and ceremonies retained and used in the English church; but now by his subscription hath allowed all. The Lord grant that, as he hath fallen with Peter, and denied the truth, so he may, if it be his will, rise with him again. This subscription is required, not of ministers alone, but of the common people, such as they call *puritans*. Scribbled in haste from Coventry, this 21st of December, 1573.

"By yours to command in the Lord Jesus,

"THOMAS WILCOCKS."

Mr. Wilcocks, in about six weeks after the above, addressed another epistle to the same venerable divine, containing a further account of oppressions and cruelties exercised upon the poor persecuted puritans. It contains, indeed, some other interesting facts worthy of being communicated to posterity; and the whole is so excellent, and so exactly characteristic of the writer, that it would be an inexcusable omission to withhold it from the inquisitive reader. The following is an exact copy:\*

"Grace and peace from God.

"Father Gilby, news here is none good; for how may we look for good in these evil times? The commissioners go forwards in their haughty proceedings: God, if it be his will, stay their rage. Three of them that they have imprisoned are dead already. What shall become of the rest



the Lord knoweth. We here persuade ourselves of nothing but great extremity. The Lord grant us patience and strength in his truth for ever. The godly here desire your earnest prayers to the Lord for them, and heartily salute you in the Lord, especially my brother Edmunds, the Lord's prisoner, unto whom you promised, at my being with you, to write some letter of comfort. Surely a letter from you to him would much encourage him in the ways of the Lord; and, therefore, I desire you at your convenient leisure to write somewhat as it shall please the Lord to move you.

“Dr. Whitgift's book is not yet come out, but we look for it daily. Our brother Cartwright is escaped, God be praised, and departed this land since my coming up to London, and, I hope, is by this time at Heidelberg. The Lord bless him, and direct him in all things by his Holy Spirit, that he may do that which may serve for the advancement of his glory, and the profit of his church. His earnest desire is, that you and all the godly should remember him in your earnest and hearty prayers; therefore, I the more boldly and willingly now make mention of him.

“The commissioners caused Beza's Confession, translated into English, to be burnt in Stationers'-hall, on Thursday the 28th of January last. The pretence was, that it was ill translated: but I suppose rather because it over plainly dissolveth the popish hierarchy, which they yet maintain. From my house in Coleman-street, this 2d of February, 1574. Yours assured in the Lord,

“THOMAS WILCOCKS.”

Many of the letters written by Mr. Wilcocks were answers to cases of conscience. He was highly celebrated for his knowledge of casuistical divinity. Multitudes who applied to him under spiritual distress, obtained, through the blessing of God, both peace and comfort. Most of his epistles were written particularly to promote family and personal religion among his numerous connexions. Our author observes, that he had seen a large folio volume of his letters in manuscript; and, from the long list now before me, it appears that many of them were addressed to persons of quality. Mr. Wilcocks was intimate with the celebrated Sir Peter Wentworth, who had the highest respect and esteem for him.\*

\* Sir Peter Wentworth, member in several of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments, was a man of great piety, strong resolution, excellent abilities, and always zealous for the privileges of parliaments and a further reformation

Though our divine was a decided nonconformist, he was a person of great moderation. He acknowledged the church of England to be a true church, and her ministry to be a true ministry, but greatly encumbered with the superstitions and corruptions of popery. He also occasionally attended the public service of the church, and was a divine of great learning and piety; yet, for the single sin of nonconformity, he was often prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and often suspended and deprived. In the year 1581, he was convened before his superiors and suspended from his ministry; and, in 1591, he was cast into prison. He died in the year 1608, and the fifty-ninth of his age.\* Wood, not knowing that he was a puritan, gives a very high character of him, styling him a frequent writer and translator, a laborious preacher, a noted casuist, a grave divine, and a person greatly esteemed in his day.+

His WORKS.—1. An Exposition on the book of Canticles, or Solomon's Song, 1585.—2. An Exposition on part of Romans viii., 1587.—3. A short and sound Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon, 1589.—4. An Exposition on the whole book of Psalms, wherein is contained the division and sense of every Psalm, &c., 1591. (These four articles were collected and published, in 1624, under the care of Dr. John Burgess, who married the author's daughter; It was in one volume folio, entitled, "The Works of the Reverend Divine, Mr. Tho. Wilcocks.")†—5. A Summary of short Meditations, touching certain Points of the Christian Religion, 1579.—6. A Concordance or Table, containing the principal Words and Matters which are comprehended in the New Testament, 1579.—7. An Answer to Banister the Libertine, 1581.—8. A Glass for Gamesters, or such as delight in Cards and Dice, wherein they may see not only the Vanity, but also the Vileness of those Plays, plainly discovered and overthrown by the Word of God, 1581.—9. A Form of Preparation for the Lord's Supper, 1581.—10. The Substance of the Lord's Supper shortly and soundly set forth, 1581.—11. A comfortable Letter for afflicted Consciences, written to a godly Man greatly touched that way, 1584.—12. Three large Letters for the Instruction and Comfort of such as are distressed in Conscience, 1589.—13. The Narration of a fearful Fire at Woburn in Bedfordshire, 1595.—He also published the following translations into English:—1. A Catechism, 1578, by Fountein.—2. Three Propositions, 1580, by Calvin.—3. A Treatise of the Church, wherein the godly may discern the true Church from the Romish, 1582, by Bertrand de Loques.—4. A Discourse of the true visible Marks of the Catholic Church, 1588, by Beza.—5. Two Sermons on the Sacrament of the

of the church. In the year 1592, for making a motion in the house of commons for entailing the succession, he was, by the queen's tyrannical order, committed to the Fleet, and three other members to the Tower, for the same offence.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 417. (20.) 617. (2.)

\* *Ibid.* p. 617. (4.) † *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 261. ‡ *Ibid.*



Lord's Supper, 1588, by Beza.—6. Bertram the Priest concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, 1582.—7. Meditations on Psalm cii., 1599, by Phil. Morney Lord of Plessis.

JOHN SMYTH, A. M.—This zealous puritan was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and a great sufferer for non-conformity. He was a popular preacher; and having, in one of his sermons before the university, maintained the unlawfulness of sports on the Lord's day, he was summoned before the vice-chancellor. During his examination, he offered to prove, that the christian sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all unnecessary worldly business, and spent in works of piety and charity; though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him.\* A divine of his name, beneficed at Mitcham in Surrey, was a member of the presbyterian church erected at Wandsworth in that county, in the year 1572; but it is not easy to ascertain whether he was the same person.+

Mr. Smyth afterwards separated from the established church, and embraced the principles of the Brownists. In the year 1592, he was one of their leaders, and cast into prison, with many of his brethren, for their nonconformity. After being confined more than eleven months, he was called before the tribunal of the high commission, when he expressed his great surprise, that in matters of religion and conscience, his spiritual judges should censure men with imprisonment and other grievances, rather than some more christian and equitable methods. In the course of his examination, one of the commissioners asking him, *whether he would go to church*, he answered, that he should dissemble and play the hypocrite, if he should do it to avoid trouble; for he thought it was utterly unlawful. The commissioner then said, "Come to church and obey the queen's laws, and be a *dissembler*, an *hypocrite*, or a *devil*, if thou wilt."‡ Upon his refusal, he was sent back to the Marshalsea, some of his brethren to the Clink, and others to the Fleet; where they were shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the common liberty of the prison. Here they died like rotten sheep, some through extreme want, some from the rigour of their imprisonment, and others of infectious distempers.§ Though Mr. Smyth

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 341.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 134.

§ Ibid. p. 134—136.



survived these calamities, it does not appear at what period he was released from prison.

Previous to his total separation from the church of England, he spent nine months in studying the grounds of conformity and nonconformity;\* and held a disputation with Messrs. Dod, Hildersham, and Barbon, on the points of conformity, and the use of prescribed forms of prayer.† He was preacher in the city of Lincoln, and afterwards beneficed at Gainsborough. In the county of Lincoln, and on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, the principles of the Brownists gained considerable ground. Two churches were formed, over one of which Mr. Smyth was chosen pastor; and over the other Mr. Richard Clifton, who was succeeded by Mr. John Robinson.‡ After enduring numerous hardships and incessant persecution from the high commission, they fled from the storm, and went to Holland. Mr. Smyth and his followers settled at Amsterdam, in the year 1606, and joined themselves to the English church at that place, of which Mr. Francis Johnson was pastor, and Mr. Henry Ainsworth teacher. It was not long, however, before a very serious breach took place. The subjects of debate, which gave rise to this division, were certain opinions very similar to those afterwards espoused by Arminius. Mr. Smyth maintained the doctrines of free-will and universal redemption; opposed the predestination of particular persons to eternal life; as also the doctrine of original sin; and maintained that believers might fall from that grace which would have saved them, had they continued in it. He seems, indeed, to have entertained some very singular notions: as, the unlawfulness of reading the scriptures in public worship; that no translation of the Bible was the word of God; that singing the praises of God in verses, or set words, was without authority; that flight in time of persecution was unlawful; that the new-creature needed not the support of scripture and ordinances, but was above them; and that perfection was attainable in this life.§

Mr. Smyth differed also from his brethren on the subject of baptism. The Brownists, who denied the church of England to be a true church, maintained that her ministers acted without a divine commission; and, consequently, that

\* Life of Ainsworth, p. 36.

† Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 7.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 19, 20.—Morse and Parish's New Eng. p. 6.

§ Life of Ainsworth, p. 38.

every ordinance administered by them, was null and void. They were for some time, however, guilty of this inconsistency, that while they re-ordained their pastors and teachers, they did not repeat their baptism. This defect was easily discovered by Mr. Smyth; whose doubts concerning the validity of baptism, as administered in the national church, paved the way for his rejecting the baptism of infants altogether. Upon further consideration of the subject, he was led to conclude, that immersion was the true and only meaning of the word baptism; and that the ordinance should be administered to those only who appeared to believe in Jesus Christ. But the absurdity of Mr. Smyth's conduct certainly appeared in this, that, refusing to apply to the German baptists, and wanting a proper administrator, according to his views of the ordinance, he baptized himself; on which account he was stigmatized by the name of a *Se-baptist*. This is related as a fact by most of our historians; and one of them affirms, that he was baptized no less than *three* times.\* Crosby has, however, taken great pains to vindicate him from the charge of having baptized himself; yet it does not appear that he has been very successful.†

Mr. Smyth's principles and conduct deeply involved him in public controversy, and soon drew upon him an host of opponents, the chief of whom were Messrs. Robinson, Ainsworth, Johnson, Jessop, and Clifton. The controversy commenced soon after his settlement at Amsterdam, and was carried on with too much asperity by both parties.‡ Many writers observe, that soon after this unhappy controversy broke out, Mr. Smyth and his followers removed from Amsterdam, and settled at Leyden; whereas it is extremely obvious, from the testimony of persons who lived in those times, and even in those places, that both he and his people continued at Amsterdam till the day of his death,§ which happened about the close of the year 1610. The year following appeared, "A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam, in Holland," being the remainder of Mr. Smyth's company: with an appendix, giving some account of his sickness and death.

\* Paget's Heresiography, p. 66.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 46.—Life of Ainsworth, p. 38—42.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 56.

† Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 95—98.

‡ Life of Ainsworth, p. 42.

§ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 7.—Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 27.

A copy of this declaration is still preserved.\* Soon after his death, his followers returned to England; and, as it is generally supposed, they were the first of those now called *general baptists* in this country. Mr. Smyth possessed good abilities, was a learned man, and an able preacher, but he often changed his opinions, even to the very close of life. This, however, was undoubtedly from conviction, as he himself declared. "To change a false religion," says he, "is commendable, and not evil; and to fall from the profession of Puritanism to Brownism, and from Brownism to true Christian baptism, is not evil or reprobable in itself, except it be proved that we fall from true religion."†

Mr. Smyth and his company were certainly very much reproached by their enemies. This, as well as their defence, we have from his own pen. "We," says he, "disclaim the errors commonly, but most slanderously imputed unto us. We are, indeed, traduced by the world as atheists, by denying the Old Testament and the Lord's day; as traitors to magistrates, in denying magistracy; and as heretics, in denying the humanity of Christ. Be it known, therefore, to all men; first, that we deny not the scriptures of the Old Testament, but, with the apostle, acknowledge them to be inspired of God; and that we have a sure word of the prophets whereunto we ought to attend as to a light shining in a dark place; and that whatsoever was written aforetime was written for our instruction, that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope.—Secondly, we acknowledge, that, according to the precedent of Christ's disciples and the primitive churches, the saints ought, upon the first day of the week, which is called the Lord's day, to assemble together to pray, prophesy, praise God, break bread, and perform other parts of spiritual communion, for the worship of God, their own mutual edification, and the preservation of true religion and piety in the church.—Thirdly, concerning magistrates, we acknowledge them to be the ordinance of the Lord; that every soul ought to be subject unto them; that they are the ministers of God for our good; that we ought to pray for them that are in authority, and not speak evil of them, nor despise government, but pay tribute, custom, &c.—Finally, concerning the flesh of Christ, we do believe that Christ is the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of David, according to the prophecies of the scriptures; and that he is the son of Mary

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. and ii. Appen.

† Smyth's Character of the Beast, Pref. Edit. 1610.



his mother, made of her substance, the Holy Ghost overshadowing her: also that Christ is one person in two distinct natures, the Godhead and manhood; and we detest the contrary errors."\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *Parallels and Censures*, 1609.—2. *The Character of the Beast: or, the false Constitution of the Church, discovered in certain Passages betwixt Mr. R. Clifton and John Smyth, concerning true Christian Baptism of New Creatures, or new-born Babes in Christ, and false Baptism of Infants born after the Flesh*, 1610.—3. *Differences of the Churches of the Separation*.—4. *A Dialogue of Baptism*.—5. *A Reply to Mr. Clifton's Christian Plea*.

**RICHARD CLIFTON** was a person of a grave deportment, and a successful preacher, but severely persecuted for non-conformity.† He was pastor to one of the Brownist churches in the north of England, and by his ministerial labours, many souls were converted to Christ. The celebrated Mr. John Robinson was a member of his church, and afterwards his successor in the pastoral office.‡ These worthy persons endured most cruel persecution, and for a long time were exceedingly harassed by the high commission, and were at length driven out of the kingdom. About the year 1606, Mr. Clifton removed to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam;§ where he became teacher to the church of which Mr. Francis Johnson was pastor. He carried his views of separation much farther than Mr. Robinson, and imbibed many of the opinions of Mr. John Smyth; but it appears that he was afterwards reclaimed from so rigid a separation.|| He is denominated the principal scribe among the separatists, and is said to have written most to the purpose in defence of separation.¶ As his writings were published during his exile in a foreign land, we have not been able to collect the title of more than one of his pieces; which was, “*A Plea for Infants and elder People concerning their Baptism; or, a Process of the Passages between M. John Smyth and Richard Clifton*,” 1610. Having renounced the principles of rigid separation, he wrote, as in the work just mentioned, with great warmth against Mr. Smyth. He is said to have been one of Mr. Smyth's most violent adver-

\* Smyth's *Character of the Beast*, Pref.

† Cotton's *Congregational Churches*, p. 7.

‡ Morse and Parish's *New Eng.* p. 6.

§ *Life of Ainsworth*, p. 37.

|| Clark's *Lives annexed to Martyr*, p. 56.

¶ Paget's *Arrow against Separation*, p. 8.

saries.\* Mr. Clifton was probably living when the above piece was published; but when he died we cannot ascertain.

NICOLAS RUSH was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university, but persecuted for his nonconformity. In his sermon at St. Mary's church, September 10, 1609, it is said that he delivered divers opinions contrary to the religion of the established church; for which he was convened before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Jegon, and the heads of houses, and required to deliver up a copy of his sermon. Having complied with their demands, certain offensive opinions were extracted from his sermon, for which he was immediately suspended from preaching, and enjoined to make a public recantation from the pulpit of the above church. This degrading recantation, containing an account of his offensive crimes, was the following:

“Whereas many christian auditors, wise, godly and religious, have been offended with many things which I not long since uttered in a sermon in this place, justly reprehending not only my great indiscretion, presumption, uncharitableness, rash and bold censuring, but also some strange and erroneous opinions I then was taken to deliver; I am now come to the same public place (after sundry conferences had with divers grave and learned divines of this university) to acknowledge my fault and make satisfaction.

“And, first, in my prayer, where I used very irreverent and reproachful speech against the clergy, or some of them, terming them gorbellied clergy; and also some offensive speeches, which might be taken to touch authority, or some attending at court, calling them devilish parasites, in flattering and attributing overmuch to some in higher place: upon better advice, I now acknowledge my presumptuous boldness therein. Further, in that I did then deliver three opinions in these words, viz. that St. Paul and Moses did faulty and err in their desires, it coming from a scourge and force of a passion too earnest and hot, and not sufficiently bounded with the true limits of pure charity. And also even our Saviour Christ's prayer (Father if thou wilt, let this cup pass from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done,) came from nature only,

“ without reason attending, his understanding all the while  
 “ being otherwise busied, and his reasonable deliberation  
 “ not concurring therewith ; for it is not necessary that the  
 “ reasonable mind should always concur with the tongue,  
 “ men speaking in their sleep, and parrots also learning that  
 “ faculty. And that his mouth, with all the instruments of  
 “ speech, were writhed as it were, and wrested to utter the  
 “ same, and substance of his natural instinct and inclination.  
 “ And further, that our Saviour Christ’s prayer, though it  
 “ were uttered by a person reasonable, yet it was nothing  
 “ in substance but a nature desired prayer : it being  
 “ directly and originally the proper cause of it. And  
 “ further, that the words of Christ were as the words of a  
 “ man in sleep. Whereas in my confutation of Mr. Beza’s  
 “ judgment, (being that the prayer of Christ came from a  
 “ reasonable will,) I uttered these words in answer : ‘ As I  
 “ take it, it cannot stand ; for how could he, without tedious  
 “ and untimely troubling and obtruding his Father’s ears,  
 “ (as I may so speak,) pray that the cup should pass from  
 “ him.’

“ I now, upon better deliberation, do, with grief and  
 “ sorrow of heart, confess before God and his angels, and  
 “ this whole assembly, that I have greatly erred in my  
 “ said opinions publicly delivered, and especially touching  
 “ the points about the most holy, earnest, meritorious, and  
 “ heavenly prayer of our Saviour in that bitter agony suf-  
 “ fered for our sins ; wherein my said speeches were not only  
 “ erroneous, rash, and presumptuous, but also such as might  
 “ be taken to be dishonourable to our Saviour, impious and  
 “ profane, giving just scandal both to such as then heard  
 “ me, and those to whom the report hath come. Where-  
 “ fore I humbly beseech, first, Almighty God, and next  
 “ you all whom I have offended, to forgive me, promising,  
 “ by God’s grace, to be more vigilant and circumspect  
 “ hereafter in what I shall publicly utter, either in this  
 “ or any other place : which, that I may the better perform,  
 “ I humbly desire you to pray for me, and now to join with  
 “ me in that most absolute form of prayer which our  
 “ Saviour Christ himself hath taught us.”

Mr. Rush absolutely refused to make this degrading  
 recantation ; for which, February 8, 1610, he was expelled  
 from the university ;\* and this is all that we know of him.

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 189, 190.



Mr. LANCASTER was born of good family, and for some time was fellow of King's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was a man of great humility, faith, and self-denial, and an excellent scholar, especially in Latin. The famous Dr. Collins used to say, "he delivered his public lectures in as pure Latin as Tully, having no other notes than what he wrote on the nails of his fingers." With his great learning, and other ornamental accomplishments, his preaching was plain, and easy to be understood; and he was content to live among plain people, with a living of less than forty pounds a year. He was beneficed at some place near Banbury, in Oxfordshire; but, about the year 1610, was suspended both from his office and benefice, by the tyrannical oppression of Archbishop Bancroft. Mr. Clark gives the following account of this excellent divine: "When I was young," says he, "I knew Mr. Lancaster. He was a little man, but eminent, as for other things, so especially for living by faith. His charge was great, and his means small. When his wife was about to send her servant-maid to buy provision at Banbury market, she would many times come to him, and tell him she had no money; his usual answer was, *Send your maid, and God will provide.* And though she sent her maid without money, she never returned empty; for one or other, who knew her to be Mr. Lancaster's maid, would give her money, by which their present wants were supplied."\*

THOMAS PEACOCK, B. D.—This learned and pious divine was born in Cheshire, and educated most probably in Brazen-nose college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was the learned tutor, the familiar friend, and the spiritual father to the famous Mr. Robert Bolton, of Broughton in Northamptonshire, who, at his death, left an account of him in manuscript, which was intended for the use of the public, and afterwards published by his friend Mr. Edward Bagshawe. Thence the following singular narrative of Mr. Peacock is collected; and it contains a pretty copious abstract of the whole. As the piece is written throughout nearly in the form of a dialogue, the same method is observed in the abstract, with as little alteration as possible.

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 318, 319.

Mr. Peacock was a very godly minister of Christ, and a rare example of humility and holiness in the religious education of his scholars, and in his extraordinary concern for both the bodies and souls of poor distressed christians. Notwithstanding his eminent grace and excellent piety, he endured, in his last sickness, the most remarkable spiritual conflict. He was brought even to the suburbs of hell, and thence plucked as a brand from the fire. The enemy of his peace was permitted to come upon him as an armed man; but God restored comfort to his dejected soul, bound up his broken spirit, and poured the precious balm of Gilead into his wounded and bleeding conscience. For nearly three weeks after the commencement of his affliction, his time was almost wholly employed in serious devotion and holy converse with God, and he was full of most heavenly consolations. He said his hope was firmly fixed on the rock Christ Jesus. He hoped the Lord would give him a place among his saints, though it were in the lowest room. He thanked God, that he had no trouble of conscience; and that the Lord did not suffer Satan to vex him. But afterwards calling to some of his friends, he addressed them as follows:

Peacock. I thought I had been in a good state, but I see it now far otherwise. My conscience lays these things against me. I brought up my scholars in gluttony, letting them eat their fill of meat when they lived with me. While I was talking, they did undo themselves. I did unadvisedly expound places of scripture at the table; and for these things I now feel a hell in my conscience. I have procured my own death, by often eating like a beast.

Friend. How do you do?

P. Sin, sin, sin!

F. What doth any lie on your conscience?

P. Yea, my inconsiderateness: I did cut too much meat to breakfast. But God be thanked there is no greater. As we must not extenuate, so neither must we too much aggravate our sin. Let drunkards and gluttons have those terrible horrors. I thank God, I never continued in any known sin against my conscience.—(He afterwards with bitterness exclaimed,) A damnable wretch. Oh, how woeful and miserable is my state, that I must converse with hell-hounds. The Lord hath cursed me: the event sheweth it. I have no grace. I was a foolish, vain-glorious hypocrite. It is against the course of God's proceeding to save me. He hath otherwise decreed: he cannot.

F. Put your trust in God.

P. I cannot; no more than a horse.

F. Do you desire to believe?

P. No more than a post, or an horse-shoe. I have no more sense of grace than these curtains; than a goose; than a block.

F. Let the testimony of your life past comfort you, especially in the calling of a tutor.

P. I did the business thereof negligently. When I handled hard authors, I came often unprepared, and read shamefully.

F. Be of good courage, and the Lord will comfort your heart.

P. It is ended: there is no such matter.

F. Why do you think so? You shall see the event. God will yet bring it to pass.

P. Tush, tush, trifles.

F. What do you think of your former doctrine?

P. Very good.

F. Let it now comfort you.

P. It cannot.

F. You desire it could. There is nothing impossible with God, which stands with his decree.

P. Oh! Oh! miserable and woeful. The burden of my sin lieth heavy upon me. I doubt it will break my heart.

F. Behold your comforts.

P. That is nothing to me. I pray you hold your peace. You vex me. Your words are as daggers in my heart.

F. Remember, sir, the good counsels you have given us.

P. Those were ordinary.

F. You may see many others in the like estate. See David.

P. Not such as mine. Why do you speak to me of David?

F. Good sir, endeavour to settle your mind.

P. Yes, to play with hell-hounds.

F. Will you pray.

P. I cannot.

F. You were wont heretofore.

P. Yes, by a custom and vain-glory.

F. Suffer us to pray for you.

P. Take not the name of God in vain, by praying for a reprobate.

F. Suffer us to pray for ourselves.



P. Look to it; you would now shew your faculty in praying.—(After prayer was ended, he said, do not trouble yourselves in vain.)

F. Let not the devil delude you, abusing your mind and tongue. I know you speak not these words.

P. I wonder that intelligent scholars should speak thus.

F. We are persuaded you are in as good a state as ourselves.

P. Look how it is with yourselves, in truth.

F. How can you discern this change by the absence of God, if you never enjoyed his presence?

P. I thought I had it once; but now I see it is far otherwise. Oh, me! Wretch that I am!

F. Be of good comfort.

P. I cannot. I have no more grace than a back-stock.

F. Do you desire grace?

P. I cannot. I can as well leap over the church.

F. Would you not be in heaven?

P. I would not.

F. The devil himself would if he could. You have the testimony of faith: you love the brethren.

P. I do not.

F. Do you not love us?

P. No.

F. What is it that most troubles you?

P. I took too much upon me foolishly. I had got a little logic and Greek; and, meanly instructed in the rules, I set myself to read to scholars; and afterwards undertook other business which drew my attention from them. I have destroyed a thousand souls.

F. You may see the falsehood of him that suggesteth this unto you. You never had a thousand. The good effect of your pains appears in many of your scholars.

P. They were of themselves capable.

F. Name one in whom they do not appear.

P. There is one, (pointing at a master of arts.)

F. I thank God, that I ever came to you.

P. It is not so. I did foolishly.

F. You confess you did foolishly; therefore, not of malice. Consider what would have become of them, if you had not taken them.

P. Better, far better.

F. All the college know the contrary.

P. But I feel it.

F. It is false: believe not the devil.

P. It is too true.

F. When will you make amends? God will give you your desire.

P. Never.

F. Are you sorry that he will not?

P. No. There is no grace in my heart: it is dead.

F. Whom God loveth once, he loveth to the end.

P. But he never did love me. I deceived myself by a certain vain-glory.

F. You could say the Lord's prayer, and, therefore, call him Father.

P. That I did hypocritically.

F. You must trust in the Lord.

P. I cannot: I cannot. He will not have me saved. His sentence is passed.

F. Do you desire to be saved?

P. No.

F. Do you desire to desire?

P. No.

F. Would you be damned?

P. No.

F. Look at the sins of other men, as great as yours; and yet they are saved.

P. They are good and godly. They have found grace: here is the difference. My sins are horrible.

F. I see now how it is. You strictly look back to your own actions for your justification, and will have none of God's mercy; and now he hath justly met with you. Your judgment is just. Do you hope to be justified by your own merits?

P. I fear to be damned for my sins. Oh! if you did but feel my grief only one hour, you would have compassion.

F. If you were in the fire, you would wish to get out.

P. I had rather be in the fire than here. I took many things upon me too proudly, and, being negligent, performed nothing. Cursed be the day when I took scholars. If I had not taken them, I had been happy. I was an hypocrite, and now there is no hope of comfort for me in God's presence.

F. What would you counsel me to do?

P. Abide within the bounds of your calling. Take not too much upon you, and the Lord will bless you.

F. Will it avail me to hear sermons?

P. Yes, if you mean to be saved.

F. What good shall I reap thence?

P. Nothing from bare hearing.

F. You know the poor in spirit are blessed.

P. I am not such.

F. You see you are empty of all good : you feel your burden.

P. I pray you, go your way. (He turned his head aside, and stopped his ears.)

F. What though you have done but little good; yet, if you have only given a cup of cold water, in the name of a disciple, it will be accepted.

P. Oh! if God—

F. He will give you grace.

P. I doubt it. Oh God, give me a spark of grace, and enlarge my heart to apprehend it.

P. Oh, Mr. Dod! I have no grace.

Dod. I will not believe every one who saith he hath grace, nor every one who saith he hath none. A man must not always be led by sense. You forgive your enemies and love them, and would do them no hurt, if you could.

P. Yes.

D. Then your sins are forgiven: an hypocrite may give alms and fast, but this he cannot do.

P. That is a small matter.

D. I think it to be a great one; yea, such a one as I had need to pray for. That is put for a reason in the Lord's prayer; and if Christ had thought of any more forcible, he would have given it.

P. Sir, that is true, in those who are elected.

D. Do not you put an exception where God hath put none. I came hither to cherish you; and you love your friends.

P. I cannot.

D. Would you rather have bad or good men to be with you?

P. Good.

D. Yet you say you do not love them. There is no fellowship between light and darkness. Doth your sickness or your sin most trouble you? And would you have grace, rather than health?

P. Grace: but it cannot be.

D. Do you desire to be saved?

P. Infinitely! Oh! if God would give me a drop. But I feel horror.

D. Do not you search into the secrets of God?



P. It is too true and manifest.

D. Sir, do not always be digging at your sins. A wound continually rubbed cannot be cured. Suffer the plaster of the word of God to rest upon it, that it may be healed.

P. Oh, if I had! Oh, if it would please God! I had rather than any thing in this or three thousand worlds.

D. Who now giveth this desire unto you? Of ourselves we cannot think a good thought. God giveth both the will and the deed. A desire is a sure token.

P. But I cannot truly desire. Oh, if he would enlarge my heart.

D. Cast your burden upon the Lord.

P. He hath rejected me.

D. Who made you his counsellor? Secret things belong to God, but things revealed to us. Will you make almanacs?

P. He doth manifest it. Oh, mine abominable bringing up of youth!—(He groaned most bitterly.)

D. Behold we make your state our own—we have part in your sorrow. Who hath thus disposed our hearts?

P. God.

D. And do you think that he who causeth us to love you doth not love you himself?

P. I fear I did too much glory in matters of private service of God.

D. The devil hath now winnowed you, and you think all is gone out; but God holdeth what is his. When an earthly father setteth his son on work, he must do it in his own strength: but the Lord setteth on work, and giveth strength.

P. Oh, my heart is miserable.

D. What then? A father loveth his son as well when he is sleeping as when he is waking. Sir, I have known you heretofore, and although, if I were in your case, I might do as you do; yet I should remain the servant of God, as you certainly do. If Jacob could say of Esau, I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God; how much more should you think so of the children of God who come to you.

P. I think God hath begun to give me ease.

D. He will in his good time.

P. God grant it.

D. Although we depart from our friends in the way, we shall meet at the end.

After Mr. Dod was departed, he received a letter from his

affectionate friend Mr. Bolton, in which he thus addressed him :—" I heard, I know not how, that my dear christian friend Mr. Peacock is in great distress, which hath much grieved and afflicted my heart, and wrung from me many bitter tears. If his extremities be such, his temptations are likely to be very sore. Tell him from me, as from one who did ever with dearest intimacy know and converse with him, that I can assure him in the word of life and truth, from a most holy and just God, whose minister I am, that he is undoubtedly one of his saints, designed for immortality, and the endless joys of another world."

Upon the reading of Mr. Bolton's letter, at those words, " I can assure him," he said, " Oh, take heed, take heed. I did deceive myself : now God hath revealed more. My heart is broken." " Then," observed one of his friends, " the promise is yours." " Oh," said he, " I love your company, for the grace that is in you." He then cried to the Lord, saying, " Oh God, reconcile me unto thee, that I may taste one dram of thy grace, by which my miserable soul may receive comfort. Satan hath borne me in hand, and hath deluded me." A person afterwards coming to him, and asking him how he did, he replied, " My mind was grievously puzzled with sundry distractions in the night ; but now, I thank God, I feel my burden more light. Lord, grant me the comfort of thy deliverance, and forgive me my foolishness, that I may praise thy name." An intimate friend taking his final leave of him, and asking his counsel, he said, " Look to your calling, that it be as well inward as outward ;" and he urged others to be diligent in promoting God's glory. Being asked how he did, he said, " Oh ! if it would please God that I might live with him : " then added, " I have been thinking of arguments by which I might plead my cause with God, and I have found them. But what if dying thus I should be found an apostate ! Truly," said he, " my heart and soul have been far led, and deeply troubled with temptations and strifes of conscience ; but, I thank God, they are in a good measure eased : wherefore I desire that I may not be branded as a reprobate."

Afterwards, when he was asked what he thought of his former doctrine, he said, " It is most true. In it I have lived, and in it I will die : I have not dealt hypocritically in it." Being asked whether he was willing to die, he said, " I truly submit to the will of God." When it was inquired whether he forgave all offences, he replied, " Yes,

and desire that mine may be forgiven. I heartily and humbly ask forgiveness." When it was intimated that his conversation had been unblameable, he said, "No; I dare not affirm it. I trust in nothing but in the name of Jesus Christ; yet I would not be pressed to a particular assurance in this grievous agony. Indeed," said he, "I have been bold to argue thus with God: if he hath shewed mercy to such and such, why should not I likewise have hope. The Lord is merciful to me, and I have cause of rejoicing."

Dr. Airay coming to see him, he complained of his sin and misery; and when the doctor signified that he looked not for any thing in himself to recommend him to God, he said, "No, nothing." To a number of young gentlemen who came to see him, he said, "Live in the fear of God, that you may die in his favour. Otherwise the ox and the ass will condemn you. I spent my time foolishly and prodigally." When it was observed that he had remembered this sufficiently, and was advised to remember Christ also, he said, "That is true. Christ is to be remembered, and our sins are to be remembered also."

About two hours before his death he expressed himself to those about him as follows:—"You all expect that I should declare what I think of my own salvation. Truly God is for ever so endearingly tender, and so inconceivably merciful to all those whom he hath once loved, that he doth never finally forsake them. Therefore I am assured that I shall go to heaven. Happy, thrice happy are those fetters of affliction in which my gracious God hath tied and bound me." A friend having said to him, "You have fought a good fight," he answered, "It is requisite, it is requisite that I should contend for heaven. Lift me up; help me out; carry me hence that I may go to heaven. God doth favourably accept the endeavours of his saints." Being reminded of God's great mercy to him, he said, "Oh, the sea is not so full of water, nor the sun of light, as God is of goodness. His mercy is ten thousand times more. I do, God be praised, feel such comfort in this, that if I had five thousand worlds, I could not make recompense for such an issue. How shall I extol the munificence of God, which is unspeakable, and more than any heart can conceive? Let us, with humble reverence, acknowledge his great mercy. What great cause have I to magnify the goodness of God, who hath humbled, nay, rather hath exalted so wretched a miscreant, and of so base a condition, to an estate so glorious and stately! The Lord," said he, "hath honoured me



with his goodness. I am sure he hath provided a glorious kingdom for me. The joy that I feel in my soul is incredible. Blessed be God, blessed be God! I am a thousand times happy to have such felicity thrown upon me, a poor wretched miscreant." After panting a little for breath, he said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, receive my soul. Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me, and be merciful unto me;" and then fell asleep in the Lord, December 4, 1611. His remains were interred in St. Mary's church, Oxford.\*

Mr. Peacock was greatly beloved by many persons of real worth, on account of his great learning, piety, and usefulness. Sir Robert Harley,† his constant friend and worthy patron, was particularly kind to him during his heavy affliction, and promised, if the Lord should restore him, to do great things for him. The learned divines who attended Mr. Peacock in his sickness, as Mr. Dod, Dr. Airay, and others, were all decided puritans. The author and publisher of his life were persons of the same stamp. The latter employed his printer to procure a license for the work, during the severe persecution of the puritans, in 1635, but in this he was absolutely refused; because "it was too precise (meaning too puritanical) for those times." It was afterwards licensed by Mr. Edmund Calamy, the celebrated nonconformist, and published in 1646. From all these circumstances, we conclude that Mr. Peacock was a divine of puritanical principles, and ought in justice to be classed among the puritan worthies.‡

GABRIEL POWEL, B. D.—This learned person was the son of Dr. David Powel, the famous antiquary; born at Ruabon, in Denbighshire, in the year 1575, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became master of the free-school at Ruthen, in his native county. During his abode in the country, he

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 802.

† Sir Robert was knight of the shire for the county of Hereford, and master of the Mint, to which office was annexed a salary of four thousand pounds a year. In 1641 he received a commission from the house of commons, to demolish all images, crucifixes, and other obnoxious relics of popery; and his commission was punctually executed. He had considerable influence in the house; and, like others of his illustrious family, was a great friend and patron of learning. He died November 6, 1656.—*Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 47. Edit. 1732.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 269.

‡ Bolton's *Last Visitation, Conflicts, and Death of Mr. Peacock.* Edit. 1660.

paid a close application to the writings of the fathers, and to the study of philosophy, and laid a foundation for several works which he intended to publish. But this not being a suitable situation for the accomplishment of his wishes, he again returned to Oxford, entered St. Mary's-hall, and wrote and published several learned books. He was one of those learned divines who wrote against Bishop Bilson, concerning Christ's descent into hell. On account of the admirable productions of his pen, he obtained great fame, especially among the puritans. His high reputation having spread through the country, Dr. Vaughan, the pious and learned Bishop of London, who was a decided friend to the puritans, invited him to London, made him his domestic chaplain, and, had he lived much longer, would have done great things for him. A minister of the same name, and most probably the same person, was made prebendary of Portpool, in the year 1609; but resigned it by death previous to December 31, 1611.\* Wood says he was esteemed a prodigy of learning, though he died when a little more than thirty years old; and had he lived to a greater maturity of years, it is thought he would have exceeded the famous Dr. John Rainolds, or any of the learned heroes of the age: but he adds, "that he was a zealot, and a stiff puritan."†

His WORKS.—1. The Resolved Christian, 1602.—2. Prodomus: or a Logical Resolution of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, 1602.—3. Theological and Scholastical Positions concerning Usury, 1602.—4. The Catholicks' Supplication to the King for Toleration of Catholic Religion, with Notes and Observations in the Margin, 1603.—5. A Supplication parallel-wise, or Counterpoise of the Protestants to the said King, 1603.—6. A Consideration of Papists Reasons of State and Religions, for a Toleration of Popery in England, intimated in their Supplication to the King's Majesty, and the State of the present Parliament, 1604.—7. The Unlawfulness and Danger of Toleration of divers Religions, and Connivance to contrary Worship in one Monarchy or Kingdom, 1605.—8. A Refutation of an Epistle Apologetical, written by a Puritan-papist to persuade the Permission of the promiscuous use and profession of all sorts of Heresies, 1605.—9. A Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers' Arguments for their Restitution to the use and liberty of their Ministry, exhibited in their late Supplication to this present Parliament, 1606.—10. Disputationes Theologicæ de Antichristo, 1606.—11. De Adiaphoris theses Theologicæ et Scholasticæ, 1606.—12. Rejoinder unto the Mild Defence, Justifying the Consideration of the Silenced Ministers' Supplication to the Parliament.—13. A Comment on the Decalogue.—Most of the above articles passed through several editions.

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 201.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 294, 394.

**THOMAS HOLLAND, D. D.**—This celebrated scholar and divine was born at Ludlow in Shropshire, in the year 1539, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford; where he took his degrees with great applause. In 1589 he succeeded Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, as king's professor of divinity; and in 1592, was elected master of Exeter college, being accounted a prodigy in almost all kinds of literature. His distinguished reputation was not confined to his own country. He was highly admired in the foreign universities, as well as in our own public seminaries. During his professorship, many persons eminent for learning and piety were his scholars, who afterwards became conspicuous ornaments in the church and the commonwealth.

Dr. Holland was a thorough Calvinist in his views of the doctrines of the gospel, and a decided nonconformist in matters of ceremony and discipline. In one of his public acts at the university, he boldly maintained that bishops were no distinct order from presbyters, nor at all superior to them, according to the word of God. He was a most zealous opposer of the innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, intended to be introduced into the university of Oxford, by Bancroft, Neile, and Laud.\* In the year 1604 Mr. William Laud, afterwards the famous archbishop, performing his exercise for bachelor of divinity, maintained, "That there could be no true churches without diocesan episcopacy;" for which, it is said, Dr. Holland sharply rebuked, and publicly disgraced him, as one who endeavoured to sow discord among brethren, and between the church of England and the reformed churches abroad.† During the above year, Dr. Holland was one of the Oxford divines appointed by King James to draw up a new translation of the Bible; and he had a considerable hand in that learned and laborious work. This is the translation now in use.‡

Towards the close of life, this celebrated divine spent most of his time in meditation and prayer. Sickness, old age, and its infirmities, served only to increase his ardour for heaven. He loved God, and longed to enjoy him. His soul was formed for heaven. He could find no rest out of heaven; and his end was peace. Finding the hour of his departure near at hand, he exclaimed, "Come, O come

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 635. (2.)

† MS. Remarks, p. 583.—*Canterburies Doome*, p. 389.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. Rec. p. 367.



Lord Jesus, thou bright Morning Star ! Come, Lord Jesus : I desire to be dissolved, and be with thee." Herein his request was granted. Jesus crowned him with glory, immortality, and eternal life, March 17, 1612, aged seventy-three years. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Mary's church, Oxford, with great funeral solemnity and universal lamentation. He was succeeded in the professor's chair by Dr. Robert Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.\*

Dr. Kilby, who preached his funeral sermon, gives the following account of him : " He had a wonderful knowledge of all the learned languages, and of all arts and sciences, both human and divine. He was mighty in the scriptures ; and so familiarly acquainted with the fathers, as if he himself had been one of them ; and so versed in the schoolmen, as if he were the seraphic doctor. He was, therefore, most worthy of the divinity chair, which he filled about twenty years, with distinguished approbation and applause. He was so celebrated for his preaching, reading, disputing, moderating, and all other excellent qualifications, that all who knew him commended him, and all who heard of him admired him.

" His life was so answerable to his learning, that it was difficult to say which was most to be admired. He was not like those, who when they become learned cease to do well ; nor like those, who by their learning, aspire after riches, honours, or preferments ; but his learning was so sanctified by the Holy Ghost, that he ever aspired towards the kingdom of heaven. His life and conversation were so holy, upright and sanctified, that in him the fruits of the Spirit greatly abounded : as, love, joy, peace, gentleness, meekness, temperance, and brotherly kindness. He was so zealous an advocate for the purity of the gospel, both in faith and worship, and had so great an aversion to all innovation, superstition and idolatry, that previous to his going a journey, he constantly called together the fellows of the college, and delivered to them this charge : ' I commend

\* This most pious and learned prelate, brother to Archbishop Abbot, distinguished himself by writing in defence of Mr. William Perkins's " Reformed Catholic," against Dr. William Bishop, then a secular priest, but afterwards, in the pope's style, a titular bishop of Chalcedon. When Abbot was offered the bishopric of Salisbury, it was with great difficulty he could be pressed to accept it ; insomuch, that when he attended at court, to do his homage after his consecration, King James pleasantly said to him, " Abbot, I have had very much to do to make thee a bishop ; but I know no reason for it, unless it were because thou hast written against one."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 22, 23. Edit. 1778.

you to the love of God, and to the hatred of all popery and superstition.'”\* The Oxford historian denominates him “a solid preacher, a most noted disputant, and a most learned divine.”† It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Holland, another excellent puritan divine.

Dr. Holland published several learned orations, and a sermon on Mat. xii. 42, printed 1601; and left many manuscripts ready for the press, which, falling into the hands of those unfriendly to the puritans, were never published.

**HUGH BROUGHTON.**—This celebrated person was born at Oldbury in Shropshire, bordering on Wales, in 1549, and descended from an ancient and a wealthy family. He received his grammar learning under the famous Mr. Bernard Gilpin, at Houghton in the Spring, near Durham; who sent him to Christ’s college, Cambridge, where he was afterwards chosen fellow.‡ He was also elected one of the taxers of the university, preferred to a prebend in the church of Durham, and chosen reader of divinity at Durham. In the year 1579, after enjoying his fellowship several years, he was deprived of it by the vice-chancellor and others. Though he was censured in this manner, it was not for want of learning, or for any blemish in his character, but on account of some trivial irregularity in his admission to, or continuance in, that preferment. Mr. Broughton was a man of great celebrity; and he had many able friends, who, at this juncture, pleaded his cause, and gave high commendations of his character. The Bishop of Durham became his zealous advocate, and wrote a letter, dated December 14, 1579, to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of

\* Kilby’s Funeral Sermon for Dr. Holland.

† Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 320.

‡ The following anecdote is related of Mr. Broughton:—As the celebrated Bernard Gilpin was once travelling to Oxford, he observed a boy before him, sometimes walking, and sometimes running. When he came up to him, observing him to be a youth of an agreeable and promising aspect, he asked him whence he came, and whither he was going. The boy told him, that he came out of Wales, and was going to Oxford, in order to be a scholar. Mr. Gilpin having examined him, found him expert in the Latin, and possessed of a smattering of Greek; and was so pleased with his appearance, and the quickness of his replies, that he inquired if he would go with him, and he would provide for his education. The youth agreed to the generous proposal, and went with him to Houghton; where he made wonderful proficiency both in Greek and Hebrew; and Mr. Gilpin afterwards sent him to finish his education at Cambridge.—*Fuller’s Abol. Red.* p. 358.—*Clark’s Eccl. Hist.* p. 764.

the university, earnestly soliciting that Mr. Broughton, notwithstanding his preferment at Durham, might still continue to hold his fellowship. The Earls of Huntingdon and Essex, at the same time, warmly espoused his cause, and jointly addressed a letter, dated February 24, 1580, to the worthy chancellor, in his favour. The two noble persons speak in this letter in high commendation of Mr. Broughton's learning, obedience and circumspection; and observe, that only want of maintenance in the university had induced him to accept of the above prebend, which, however, he was more willing to resign than lose his place in the university. "This," it is added, "shewed the good mind that was in him."\* Lord Burleigh addressed a letter, dated October 20, 1580, to Dr. Hatcher, the vice-chancellor, and Dr. Hawford, master of the college, in which he expresses with great warmth his disapprobation of their conduct, and the conduct of the fellows, in their unjust treatment of Mr. Broughton.+ Therefore, after much opposition, he was, in 1581, by an order from this generous and worthy statesman, again admitted to his fellowship; though it does not appear whether he returned any more to the college.‡ In the mean time he very generously resigned the office of taxer of the university.§

Mr. Broughton having left the university, removed to London, where he had many worthy friends, among whom were the two earls already mentioned; also Sir Walter Mildmay, and others. About the same time, he entered upon the ministerial function; but still pursued his studies with uncommon assiduity, usually spending fourteen or sixteen hours a day in the most intense application. In his preaching, he commonly took a text out of the Old Testament, and a parallel text out of the New Testament, and discoursed pretty largely upon them in their connexion, then concluded with a short and close application of the doctrine. His preaching soon rendered him exceedingly popular, and he was very much followed, particularly by persons celebrated for learning. But that which rendered him most known to the world was the publication of his book, entitled, "A Consent of Scriptures." It was the fruit of immense labour and study, and is a kind of system of scripture chronology and genealogy, designed to shew from the scriptures, the chronological order of events from

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 91.

† Ibid. vol. x. p. 306.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 612—614.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 423.



Adam to Christ. The work was published in the year 1588; and, while it was printing, the famous Mr. John Speed superintended the press.\* It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, to whom it was presented by himself the 17th of November, 1589. In this dedication he says, "The whole Book of God, most gracious sovereign, hath so great an harmony, that every part of it may be known to breathe from one Spirit. All soundeth the same point, that by Christ the Son eternal, we are made heirs of life: whom they that know not abide always in wrath. Prophecies in every age, (the first ages larger, the later narrower,) all briefly told, all events fully recorded: these shew the constancy of this truth. The like revolutions are of Abraham, Jacob, and his children, together of Shem's house: and again to Japheth's sons, and all families: wherein the former be stamps of the latter: so that in one speech another thing also is spoken. These shew the eye of Jehovah, and his Spirit. The kindreds, places, and times (the lights of narrations) are registered so profitably, that it should be a blasphemy to affirm any one to be idle. Our Lord's fathers are recorded from Adam, by David and Nathan, to his grandfather Ely: likewise they, after whom he is heir to the kingdom of David: Solomon's line so long as it continued, and afterwards they who from Nathan were heirs to Solomon's house. So other families, who came all of one, as from them all come: they by Moses and the prophets be plentifully expressed. In like sort the places of their dwellings are clearly taught. The course of time is most certainly to be observed; even to the fulness, the year of salvation, wherein our Lord died. Of which time the very hour was foretold by an angel, not seven years before, but seventy times seven years, Dan. ix. 24. To this all other Hebrews, and profane Greeks, bear witness strongly against themselves. These helps be stars in the story. The frame

\* Mr. Speed, who was brought up a tailor, was, by his acquaintance with Mr. Broughton, become particularly studious, and, by his directions, was deeply versed in a knowledge of the scriptures. Also, by the generosity of Sir Fulke Gravile, his patron, he was set free from a manual employment, and enabled to pursue his studies, to which he was strongly inclined by the bent of his genius. The fruits of them were his "Theatre of Great Britain; Genealogies of Scripture; and History of Great Britain," works of immense labour; the last of which, in its kind, was incomparably more complete than all the histories of his predecessors put together. Mr. Broughton had a considerable share in the "Genealogies;" but when the work came to be published, "because the bishops would not endure to have Mr. Broughton's name prefixed, Mr. Speed went away with all the credit and profit."—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. part i. p. 2.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 320.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 67. Edit. 1778.

of all this, with coupling of joints and proportion of body, will much allure to study, when it is seen how about one work, (religion and God's way of salvation,) all families, countries, and ages, build or pull down: and find the kindness or severity of God.\*

The learned author took great pains to shew, that the heathen chronology contained numerous inconsistencies and contradictions, while the sacred history was perfectly clear from these imperfections. However, no sooner was his book published, than it met with great opposition. Archbishop Whitgift, at first, so exceedingly disliked the performance, that he would have called the author to an account for some things contained in it; but, to avoid the high commission, Mr. Broughton fled into Germany. This, indeed, greatly excited the general clamour against the book, and very much increased the number of its adversaries; nevertheless, Bishop Aylmer, in commendation of the work, said, "That one scholar of right judgment, would prove all its adversaries foolish."† Notwithstanding this, Dr. Rainolds of Oxford, and Mr. Lively of Cambridge, both learned professors in those universities, read publicly against the book.

Mr. Broughton used to call this work, "his little book of great pains:" for it cost him many years study; and when it was published, he had to write and publish in defence of it, against the exceptions of the above divines. By the allowance of the queen and council, he entered upon its defence, in public lectures in St. Paul's church, when the lord mayor, some of the most learned of the bishops, and other persons of distinction, were of his audience. Others of the bishops, however, could not endure these exercises, calling them *dangerous conventicles*; and therefore brought complaints against him, and put down his lecture. He and his friends afterwards assembled privately, at various places in the city, as they found opportunity.‡ During Mr. Broughton's continuance in London, he mostly resided in the house of Mr. William Cotton;§ whose son, afterwards Sir Rowland Cotton, he instructed in the Hebrew language. His young pupil obtained so exact a knowledge of the language, that at the age of seven or eight years he could translate almost any chapter of the Bible into English,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 606.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 249.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 3.

§ Mr. Roger Cotton, brother to this person, was one of Mr. Broughton's true scholars. He read the whole Bible through *twelve* times in one year.—*Ibid.* p. 4.

and converse with the greatest ease in Hebrew.\* Mr. William Cowper, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, was another of his pupils.†

Mr. Broughton was a zealous advocate for the purity of the sacred text both of the Old and New Testament. "In the prophet Daniel's time, and afterwards," says he, "the sacred tongues were changed: it will not therefore be amiss to speak something of God's counsel in this matter. Adam and Eve's tongue continued, commonly spoken by the Jews, until the captivity of Babylon, and the understanding thereof, when Haggai and Zachary prophesied, in the next age. In this tongue every book of the Old Testament is written in a style inimitable. The characters and points are the same as those written by God on the two tables. The Masorites, of whom Ezra was chief, with an Argus-eyed diligence so keep the letters and words, that none of them can perish. The sense of the tongue is preserved for us by the LXX, the N. T. And the Talmudic phrase by them, who in their schools still kept their tongue. By the help of the LXX. and N. T. we may excel all the rabbins. For their study is more easy to us than to them, in regard that they imitate the Greeks in their fables and expressions, and we have above them God, an heavenly interpreter for us in all the N. T. which, both for the infinite elegance and variety of its words, is most divinely eloquent. In it are the choice words of all kind of all Greek writers, nor can they all, without some fragments of the ancients, and the LXX. shew all the words in it. It hath also some new-framed words, as all chief authors have, and all brave expressions; so that if any one would study in another tongue to express the like elegancy, he may as well fly with Dædalus's wax-wing, and miscarry in the attempt. In the N. T. is a fourfold Greek, 1. common; 2. the LXX. Greek; 3. the Apostolic; 4. the Talmudic. The uncorruptness of the N. T. text is undoubted to all who know the Hebrew tongue, history, and the exact Athenian eloquence. And such as pretend to correct it, do debase the majesty of both

\* This account may appear to some almost incredible. Mr. Broughton's method of instruction was singular. He had his young pupil constantly with him, and invariably required him to speak, both to himself and others, in Hebrew. He also drew up a vocabulary, which young Cotton constantly used. In this vocabulary he fixed on some place, or thing, then named all the particulars belonging to it: as, heaven, angels, sun, moon, stars, clouds, &c.; or, a house, door, window, parlour, &c.; a field, grass, flowers, trees, &c.—*Ibid.*

† Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 899.



Testaments, by unskilful altering what God spake most divinely. The reading, therefore, of the apostles in these matters will call together Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Pindarus, and others of the coasts of Illyricum: as also Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Aratus, Menander, Callimachus, Epimenides, Plato, Aristotle, and all the orators and historians of Grecian writing in the time when this tongue flourished.”\*

He maintained that the gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Greek. “The New Testament,” says he, “was all originally in Greek. St. Matthew’s gospel was written at the first in that heavenly oratorious Greek which we now have: and if the Holy Ghost had written it in the Jews’ Jerusalem Hebrew, the holy learned of old time would have kept it with more care than jewellers all precious stones. We accuse antiquity of great ungodliness, when we say St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but antiquity lost that gospel. So St. Paul wrote in Greek to the Hebrews, in those syllables which we have to this day; and the style hath allusions, which the Jews’ tongue hath not: which sheweth the original to be in Greek. The apostles wrote the New Testament in Greek, with such skill, that they go through all kind of Greek writers. They have words in their little book, good Greek, which Greeks have only in fragments, reserved by God’s providence to honour the New Testament.”†

This is the high character which our divine gives of the elegance and purity of the apostolic writings. His sentiments were equally exalted concerning the sacred records of the Old Testament. He made the following observations upon the Book of Job: “There never was a book written,” says he, “since the pen became the tongue of a writer, of a more curious style than Job; in verse of many sorts, and use of words more nice than any Greek or Latin writeth; and for grammar, hath more tricks and difficulty than all the Bible beside, Arabizing much; but fuller of Hebrew depth of language. God saw it needful to honour with a style of all ornaments the particular case of Job, lest it should be despised or thought a feigned matter; and, therefore, gave that book a more curious style than any other part of the Bible; and such depth of skill in the tongue, as no rabbin could be thought ever to have in the holy tongue.”‡

Mr. Broughton, as we have already intimated, fled to

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 606.

† Ibid. p. 607.

‡ Ibid. p. 609.

Germany, where he had many disputations with Jews and Papists. Previous, however, to his departure, he wrote a letter, dated March 27, 1590, to his worthy friend Lord Burleigh, desiring permission to go abroad, particularly with a view to make use of King Casimir's library; and he no doubt obtained the favour.\* He was always firm and courageous in the defence of truth; on which account he sometimes brought himself into danger, by openly exposing the errors and superstitions of popery. He had a public disputation with Rabbi Elias, a learned Jew in the synagogue at Frankfort. They disputed under an oath, that God might immediately strike him dead who should, on that occasion, speak contrary to the dictates of his conscience. In the conclusion, the Jew departed not without some proofs of advantage, desiring to be taught by his writings. An account of this conference was carried to Constantinople, where it excited very considerable attention among the Jews.+ Not only did Mr. Broughton's arguments in favour of christianity make a deep impression upon Rabbi Elias; but he also adds, "After my return from Zurich, two Italian Jews came thither, and seeing what I had printed, especially upon Daniel, believed and were baptized, and came to Basil to see me." "Another," says he, "is now in England, as I hear; who, by my occasion, embraced the gospel."‡

In the year 1591, Mr. Broughton returned from Germany, particularly with a view to settle the controversy betwixt himself and Dr. Rainolds. He had an earnest but absurd desire to have the dispute settled by public authority. In one of his addresses to the queen, he says, "Your majesty's signification of your princely determination would break young braving students, whom reason in such unexpected soils cannot bend." Speaking of himself and his opponent, he says, "His fame of learning, and my more confident resistance, maketh many think that the scripture is hard, where our long labours differ. The fault is intolerable, either in him or in me; and the faulty should be forced to yield, that none may think amiss of God's word. While divines jar in their narrations, faith is weakened, and all study of scripture; and old confirmed errors have disgraced all the holy story, that without the *enforcement of authority*, students will hardly yield to the truth." He solicited the queen to command the archbishops, and both universities,

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 92.

† Clark's Lives, p. 6.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 608.



to determine the points in contest between him and his learned opponent.\* Most persons at this period, and, among others, the learned Hugh Broughton, had very erroneous conceptions of the grand principles of protestantism; and their views of religious freedom were extremely inconsistent and absurd.

The controversy, however, was not determined by public authority, but referred to the arbitration of Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Aylmer. Though an entire pacification could not be effected, the result appears to have been greatly in favour of Mr. Broughton. For, although the archbishop exceedingly disliked Broughton's book, when it was first published; yet, upon cool and mature deliberation, he openly declared on this occasion, "That never any human pains were of greater travail and dexterity, to clear up the holy story, and against errors of fifteen hundred years standing, than appeared in the book of Consent."†

The following year Mr. Broughton again retired to Germany. He had a powerful adversary at court, who hindered him from obtaining those preferments which, it is said, the queen designed to confer upon him. Notwithstanding Whitgift's high opinion of his book, this potent adversary was the archbishop himself; who, it is positively affirmed, laid wait for him, and even offered a sum of money to any who would apprehend him.‡ Mr. Broughton, in one of his addresses to the queen, complains that her majesty was prejudiced against him by means of the archbishop, whom he represents as a person of no great learning, and speaks of his *bare Latin studies*.§

Mr. Broughton, during his abode on the continent, formed an acquaintance with the learned Scaliger, Repheleugius, Junius, Beza, and other celebrated scholars. He received great favour from the Archbishop of Mentz, to whom he dedicated his translation of the prophets into Greek. He was highly esteemed by many of the learned Jesuits; and though he was a bold and inflexible enemy to popery, he was offered a cardinal's cap.||

The article of our Saviour's local descent into hell began about this time to be questioned. It had hitherto been the received doctrine of the church of England, that the soul of Christ, being separated from his body, descended *locally* into hell; that, as he had already conquered death

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 607.

† Clark's Lives, p. 5.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 5.

+ Strype's Whitgift, p. 383.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 610.



and sin, he might triumph over Satan. But Mr. Broughton, accounted the very rabbi of the age, convinced the world that the word *hades*, as used by the Greek fathers for the place into which Christ went after his crucifixion, did not mean *hell*, or the place of the damned, but only the state of the dead, or the invisible world.\* He was the first of our countrymen who gave this explanation; which he did in a piece that he published, entitled, "An Explication of the article of Christ's Descent to Hell." This proved the occasion of much controversy, and his opinion, now generally and justly received, was vehemently opposed. His two principal opponents in this controversy were Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bilson; the latter of whom, in the warmth of disputation, he treated with some degree of contempt, and said of him, "Verily I was amazed, when I read his words, to see what a very infant in his mother's lap he is in the Greek tongue."†

On this subject he addressed "An Oration to the Geneveans," which was printed in Greek. In this piece he treats the celebrated Beza with much severity; but he supports his opinion, concerning the meaning of the word *hades*, in the most satisfactory and conclusive manner, by many quotations from Homer, Plato, Pindar, Diogenes, Laertius, and other Greek writers. Bayle says, that our author "was prodigiously attached to the discipline of the church of England, and he censured, in very bitter language, that of the presbyterians. The oration which he addressed to the Geneveans, is a very strong proof of this assertion." It is observed, however, in reply, that this oration does not, by any means, prove all that Bayle supposes. Allowance being made for Mr. Broughton's rough method of expressing himself, says the learned biographer, we think it does not appear from his Oration to the Geneveans, that he had any great aversion to them or their discipline. Excepting a few sarcastic sentences, we can discern little animosity against them but with respect to the particular subject of which he treated, the interpretation of the word *hades*, in which the church at Geneva differed from what he justly supposed to be the truth. He intimated also to the Geneveans, that they spoke unguardedly and improperly on the subject of predestination; and that their desire to overthrow Pelagius made them deal their words with more heat than discretion.‡ Mr. Broughton was so celebrated

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 482, 483.—Strype's Aymer, p. 246, 247.

† Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 609. ‡ Ibid.

in all kinds of Hebrew learning, that he was invited to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Jews in the christian religion; and King James of Scotland invited him to become professor of Hebrew in one of the Scotch universities.\*

Mr. Broughton, after his second return to his native country, wrote two letters to Lord Elsmere, the lord chancellor of England; in which he gives a circumstantial account of his various literary pursuits, and warmly censures the ungenerous and cruel treatment he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury. "I have," says he, "compiled two books, a beginning for many in the kind. One is Hebrew, exactly in the prophets' Hebrew, with a rabbin epistle, in rabbin style. The other is Ecclesiastes applied to that question, Wherefore was the book made? I was greatly injured. For the rabbin, Archbishop Whitgift, sent me word, that he would allow for answering, if I would entreat him. I returned, entreated I will, but not entreat to have a burden, which I wish others would bear. Soon after, he libelleth that I forged the epistle. If for that he had been rent in pieces by wild horses, his punishment had been too little, as a forgerer deserved. So since he borrowed the oath to that villany, God never ceased to plague the realm, and not a little by giving bishops over to teach that our Lord went down hence to hell. To repent of that, and promise £400 per annum to their teacher to confirm the truth, and then to bark like a Cerberus against the truth and themselves. Then to feign an impossibility in Greek, that our Lord went from paradise to hades, which no Grecian would ever say."†

Mr. Broughton was a most profound scholar, particularly in critical and exact knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. He directed his elaborate studies chiefly to a minute examination of the scriptures in their original languages. He found the authorized English translation extremely defective, and therefore used his utmost endeavours to obtain a new translation. With a view to accomplish this great object, he addressed the following letter "To the right honourable Sir William Cecil, lord high treasurer:"‡

"Right Honourable.

"Sundry lords, and amongst them some bishops, besides doctors and other inferiors of all sorts, have requested me

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 432, 526—530.

† Harleian MSS. No. 787.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 94.

to bestow my long studies in Hebrew and Greek writers, upon some clearing of the Bible's translation. They judged rightly that it must be amended; but in what points, I think it not good largely to tell in words till it be performed in work; that it be less disgraced which we now use. All of knowledge and conscience will grant, that much better it may be. This motion hath been made long ago; and her majesty sent word and message to Sir Francis Walsingham, that it must be considered. His highness meant to take opportunity, but other weighty affairs suffered him not. All this while my prayer and charge have been spent in preparation that way. And, furthermore, I thought good myself to make motion to such as I held worthiest and fittest to be contributors to the charge, finding by experience that public motions take further time of delay than the whole work requireth: and your lordship I held one of the worthiest to be a contributor, for the maintenance of some six of us, the longest students in the tongues, to join together; as well not to alter any thing which may stand still, (as in Moses and all the stories needeth not much amendment,) as to omit nothing which carrieth open untruth against the story and religion, or darkness disannulling the writer. In which kind, Job and the prophets may be brought to speak far better unto us; and all may have short notes of large use, with maps of geography and tables of chronology. To this, if it please your lordship to be a ready helper, your example will stir others to a more needful concern than was the amendment of the temple in King Josiah's time.

"Your lordship's to command,

"HUGH BROUGHTON."

In the above generous proposal, Mr. Broughton had to encounter insurmountable difficulties; and however desirous the treasurer might be to promote so excellent and laudable an undertaking, the worthy design utterly failed. Not long after he addressed another letter to this celebrated statesman, of which the following is a copy:\*

"To the Right Honourable my Lord Treasurer.

"My duty remembered to your lordship. I have two petitions at once to your honour; but such as neither, I trow, need greatly trouble you. I have been requested by others, for myself, to make motion for the archbishopric of Tuam (not worth above £200) in Ireland. By reason

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 94.



that five years ago, I took a little soil there, I could accept of it, if her majesty will, and it be no trouble to your honour to speak to her highness for it. But I leave it to your sage direction. The other petition is of somewhat less pains. The reverend and learned man, Dr. Rainolds, who, as I think, hath greatly hindered all his own and our religion, is now, I think, in London; with whom, if I might talk but two words, before your lordship, a pacification, as I judge, might be made. I would demand what one word of my book he dare blame, with any colour of reason; and shew that if his course had not been stayed, he offered advantage to turn all the sway of the Bible against him. By open speech it may best be declared. Your honour best knoweth your own leisure. So I commend both the causes to yourself, and your health to God. London, May 16, 1595.

“Your lordship’s to command,

“HUGH BROUGHTON.”

It does not appear what answer Mr. Broughton received to this letter; but he certainly failed of gaining the object of his former petition, if not of the latter also. His second return to England was at the time when the plague was in London. His old friends were much surprised to see him in a season of so much affliction. He was particularly cheerful and happy, and not the least afraid of the distemper. His conversation very much savoured of the kingdom of God, and he spoke upon divine subjects greatly to their edification. In the year 1603, he preached before Prince Henry at Oatlands. He did not, however, continue long in his native country, but went abroad a third time, and was chosen preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg. During his abode at this place, he sent a curious petition to King James, now of England, requesting the favour of a pension, as the reward of his manifold labours and sufferings; of which the following is a copy:\*

“Most gracious Sovereign.

“Your majesty’s most humble subject, Hugh Broughton, having suffered many years danger for publishing your right and God’s truth, by your unlearned bishops, who spent two impressions of libels to disgrace their Scottish mist; which libels their stationers deny that ever they sold. He requesteth your majesty’s favour for a pension

fit for his age, study, and past travels, bearing always a most dutiful heart to your majesty. From Middleburg, Aug. 1604.

“ Your most humble servant,

“ HUGH BROUGHTON.”

While our divine was at Middleburg, besides the care of his congregation, he published his smart discourse against Archbishop Bancroft, and sent the whole impression to Mr. William Cotton, younger brother to Sir Rowland Cotton, living in London; with a request, if he dare venture, to deliver a copy into the hands of the archbishop. Mr. Cotton was not without apprehension of danger; yet he could not well deny Mr. Broughton's request. Therefore, he waited upon the archbishop, and, after making the requisite apology, delivered a copy of the book into his hands, politely asking pardon for his great boldness. Though his grace treated him with all the civility that could have been desired, he was no sooner dismissed than the archbishop's officers came to his lodgings, seized all the books they could find, and carried them away. This was Bancroft's short and easy method of refuting the arguments of his learned opponent! ”\*

Mr. Broughton having a complaint settled on his lungs, and being desirous of dying in his own country, returned at length the third and last time to England. In the month of November, 1611, he landed at Gravesend; and upon his arrival in London, told his friends that he was come to die in his native country; and if it was the will of God, he wished to die in Shropshire, his native county. Therefore, Sir Rowland Cotton, formerly his pupil, provided suitable accommodations for him, at his house in Shropshire. Herein, however, both the pupil and the tutor were disappointed. He continued in London during the winter, and in the following spring removed to a suitable situation in the vicinity.

During his confinement under affliction, Mr. Broughton gave his friends many pious and profitable exhortations. He often urged them to observe practical religion, saying, “ Study your Bible. Labour for the salvation of one another. Be peaceable. Meddle with your own matters. Some judgment will come upon this kingdom. Never fear popery: It will never overflow the land. But the course which the bishops take will fill the land with

"atheism. Meddle not in the quarrel." As he drew near his end, he said, "Satan hath assaulted me: but the Son of God hath rebuked him, and spoken comfortable words to my soul." A little before his departure, he became speechless: yet his friends asking whether they should pray with him, he signified his warmest approbation by lifting up both his hands. Soon after the prayer was ended; he breathed his last, August 4, 1612, aged sixty-three years. His remains were interred in St. Autholin's church, London, with great funeral solemnity; and his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Speght, from John xi. 8; but the bishops would not allow it to be printed.\*

Mr. Broughton was an indefatigable student, and a most celebrated scholar, which rendered his temper too austere; yet, to his friends, his spirit was sweet, affable, and affectionate. He was bold and severe in opposing all error and impiety, and would sharply reprove them, whatever it cost him. He was free and communicative to all who wished to learn; but sometimes offended when his scholars did not understand him, accounting it a shame to live in ignorance.† As a writer, his style is rather harsh and obscure. He appears too vain and too severe against his opponents. But when it is recollected what kind of treatment he met with; how he was tossed to and fro, and often obliged to remove from one place to another, it will not appear surprizing, that so great a scholar sometimes forgot himself. Upon his death-bed, he confessed and lamented his infirmity. In his writings, adds our author, the impartial reader will find as much light thrown upon the scriptures, especially the most difficult passages, as can be found in any other author whatever; and they carry in them so happy a fascination, that the serious reader is constrained, by a sort of holy violence, to search the sacred scriptures.‡

This learned divine has been reproached with great

\* Clark's Lives, p. 6, 7.

† This was exemplified in the following anecdote.—While Mr. Broughton was at Mentz in Germany, a young man of the name of Morton, from England, came to him continually, asking him questions, and receiving instructions. When the young pupil understood not his answers, but desired further explanation, Mr. Broughton would be angry, and call him *dull* and *unlearned*. Upon this, when Morton asked him any question, he used pleasantly to say, "I pray you, whatsoever *dolts* or *dullards* I am to be called, call me so before we begin, that your discourse and mine attention be not interrupted:" which, it is said, Mr. Broughton took as pleasantly from him. This person, it is added, was afterwards the famous Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham.—*Ibid.* p. 6.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.



severity by some of our historians; and by none with greater rancour than by Mr. William Gilpin.\* This writer says, "that Mr. Broughton acted the basest and most ungrateful part towards Mr. Bernard Gilpin, who had educated and maintained him, both at school and the university. He was vile enough to endeavour to supplant the very patron who had raised him up." If Mr. Broughton really acted in the manner here represented, it would be difficult to censure him with too much severity: but, we think, there is no sufficient evidence for the charges alleged; at least Mr. Gilpin hath not produced it; and it seems hardly just to bring such black charges against a man without some substantial proof. Bishop Carlton, the first writer by whom any accusation appears to be brought against Mr. Broughton, speaks of his exciting the Bishop of Durham against Bernard Gilpin merely as a *report*; and, if this report were true, though there is no proof alleged, it seems very doubtful whether he was excited to it from a design of obtaining Gilpin's living.

Mr. Gilpin says of Broughton, "that London was the scene where he first exposed himself. Here, for some time, he paid a servile court to the vulgar, in the capacity of a popular preacher." But of this we can meet with no evidence. Indeed, servility to persons of any class, does not appear to have been any part of Mr. Broughton's character; and the charge, we think, is sufficiently refuted in the foregoing narrative, as collected from the most authentic records.

Mr. Gilpin says, that Broughton had "lived out all his credit, and became even the jest of the stage." It is certain, as our author observes, that he was satirized on the stage. But a man's being ridiculed in a dramatic exhibition, is no proof of his having out-lived either his credit or his friends; nor does this appear to have been the case, but the contrary, with Mr. Broughton.+

He also says, "Broughton was, indeed, famous in his time, and as a man of letters esteemed by many, but in every other respect despicable." The numerous authentic testimonies given in the foregoing narrative, afford a sufficient refutation of this charge. The learned Dr. Lightfoot, who wrote Mr. Broughton's life, declares himself a mere child in comparison of this great master of Hebrew and

\* Gilpin's Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 233, 234, 293, 300. Edit. 1780.

† Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 605—610.

rabbinical learning.\* Mr. Strype declares that he was one of the greatest scholars in Christendom, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and all Talmudical literature.+

Most of his works were collected and printed in London, in 1662, with his life prefixed by Dr. Lightfoot, entitled, "The Works of the great Albionean Divine, renowned in many Nations for rare Skill in Salems and Athens Tongues, and familiar Acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton." This edition of his works, though bound in one large volume folio, is divided into four tomes. Towards the last tome is Mr. Broughton's funeral sermon by Mr. Speght, in which the preacher says, "Touching the fruit of his sowing, viz. his private reading in the time, and with the approbation of the reverend and learned Bishop Aylmer; and of his public preaching in Christ's church, in St. Peter's, and in my church; how many are there (yea some alive) who may thank God daily, that ever they knew and heard him? For myself, I confess, and profess so much, and shall ever do so whilst I breathe."†

There are many of Mr. Broughton's manuscripts, in his own hand, still preserved in the British Museum. Some of them are the literary productions of his pen; others relate to the controversies in which he engaged; and the rest are miscellaneous. These, in all thirty-five, are bound in one volume quarto.§ There is also his manuscript "Harmony of the Bible."||

**WILLIAM BURTON, A. B.**—This pious minister was born in the city of Winchester, and educated first at Wickham school, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was afterwards beneficed in the city of Norwich, where Sir William Perryman, afterwards lord chief baron, a worthy religious person, and a great promoter of christian piety, was his great friend and patron. In 1583, his name is among the Norfolk divines, above sixty in all, who scrupled subscription to Whitgift's three articles.¶ Whether, on account of his nonconformity, he felt the iron hand of the archbishop, by suspension, deprivation, or imprisonment, as was the case with many of his brethren,

\* British Biography, vol. iii. p. 120.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 612.

§ Sloane's MSS. No. 3088.

¶ MS. Register, p. 436.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 612.

|| Harleian MSS. No. 1525.

we have not been able to learn. His being under the wing of so honourable and worthy a patron, might prove a sufficient protection. One of the same name, and probably the same person, was afterwards a minister in Bristol, then at Reading in Berkshire, and lastly at St. Sepulchre's, London, where he died about November, 1612.\* There were two other Mr. William Burtons, both persons of distinguished eminence, who lived about the same time.†

His WORKS.—1. A Sermon preached at Norwich, on Jer. iii. 14., 1589.—2. A Catechism containing certain Questions and Answers concerning the Knowledge of God, and the right use of the Law, 1591.—3. David's Evidence; or, the Assurance of God's Love, 1592.—4. A Caveat for Sureties, 1593.—5. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, drawn into Questions and Answers, 1594.—6. The Rousing of the Sluggard, 1595.—7. Conclusions of Peace between God and Man, containing comfortable Meditations for the Children of God, 1595.—8. Sermons on the Church's Love to Christ her Husband, 1595.—9. David's Thanksgiving for the Arraignment of the Man of Earth, 1598.—10. Ten Sermons on Matt. v. 3, 4., 1602.—11. The Anatomy of Belial, 1602.—12. Certain Questions and Answers concerning the Attributes of God, 1602.—13. Questions and Answers concerning the right use of the Law of God, 1602.—14. An Abstract of the Doctrine of the Sabbath, briefly, yet fully and plainly set forth, 1606.

RICHARD ROGERS.—This excellent divine was educated at Cambridge, and was afterwards for many years the laborious and useful minister of Wethersfield in Essex. He was a zealous, faithful, and profitable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, for the space of forty-six years. He was a man of considerable learning, and of a most humble, peaceable, and exemplary life; but a great sufferer for nonconformity. In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, and the severities which accompanied them, Mr. Rogers, with twenty-six of his brethren, all ministers of Essex, presented their petition to the lords of the council for relief; an abstract of which is given in another place.‡

This petition does not seem to have produced the desired effect: for Whitgift suspended and silenced them all, and protested that not one of them should preach without subscription and an exact conformity. What kind of treat-

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 286, 287.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 42. Edit. 1778.

‡ See Art. George Gifford.



ment they afterwards met with, appears from an account now before me, wherein it is said, "that thirty-eight ministers, denominated the learned and painful ministers of Essex, were oftentimes troubled and molested, for refusing to subscribe, to wear the surplice, or use the cross in baptism."\* Though our divine had his share in these tyrannical proceedings, he was afterwards sheltered under the wing of a most worthy patron. Sir Robert Wroth warmly espoused his cause; who, notwithstanding the protestation and censure of the archbishop, ordered him to renew his preaching, and he would stand forwards in his defence. After enduring suspension about eight months, he was restored to his ministry. He continued for many years under the protection of Sir Robert, enjoying the peaceable exercise of his ministry. He was particularly anxious to obtain a more pure reformation of the church; he therefore united with many of his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† In the year 1598, one Mr. Rogers, most probably this pious divine, was cited to appear before the high commission; but whether he received any ecclesiastical censure, we are unable to ascertain.‡

In the year 1603, Mr. Rogers and six other ministers felt the weight of the archbishop's outstretched arm; and for refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, he suspended them all. Upon their suspension they were further summoned to appear before his lordship; but it is said the archbishop died on the very day of their appearance; when they were discharged by the rest of the commissioners. But in the following year they were exceedingly molested by Bancroft, Whitgift's successor. During the whole summer they were continually cited before him, which, in addition to many other hardships, caused them to take numerous, long, and expensive journeys.§ In these tribulations Mr. Rogers bore an equal share with his brethren.

Dr. Ravid succeeded Bancroft in the diocese of London, and appears to have been of the same cruel, persecuting spirit as his predecessor. He was no sooner seated in his episcopal chair, than he began to prosecute the nonconformists. Among others, he cited Mr. Rogers to appear before him, and protested in his presence, saying, "By

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (10.)

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xi. p. 344.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 503. (7.) 589. (10.)

the help of Jesus, I will not leave one preacher in my diocese who doth not subscribe and conform." But, poor man! he died soon after, and so was disappointed.\*

Mr. Rogers, in his own private diary, April 25, 1605, makes the following reflections: "I was much in prayer about my troubles, and my God granted me the desire of my heart. For, by the favour and influence of William Lord Knollys, God hath, to my own comfort, and the comfort of my people, delivered me once more out of all my troubles. Oh that I may make a holy use of my liberty! But it greatly troubles me," adds the good man, "that after labouring betwixt thirty and forty years in the ministry, I am now accounted unworthy to preach; while so many idle and scandalous persons enjoy their ease and liberty."†

Upon Dr. Vaughan's translation to the see of London, and his restoration of many of the suspended ministers, Mr. Rogers makes these reflections, May 30, 1606: "If I preach no more, I heartily thank God for my liberty, both at home and abroad, for this year and a half, and I hope with some fruit. The bishop has been my friend. April 2, 1607, this week came the painful news of our Bishop Vaughan's death; who, for twenty-eight months, being all the time he continued, he permitted all the godly ministers to live peaceably, and to enjoy liberty in their ministry."‡ On another occasion, Mr. Rogers having been in great danger of suspension, and many of his brethren being silenced, makes this reflection: "By God's great mercy, I have gained twelve weeks more liberty than I looked for. Therefore I have the greater cause to be content when silencing cometh, especially as many are silenced before me."§ Mr. Rogers was living in the year 1612; but we are unable to ascertain the exact period of his death.

\* Wood says, that this prelate was preferred first to the see of Gloucester, on account of his great learning, gravity, and prudence; and that, though his diocese "was pretty well stocked with those who could not bear the name of a bishop, yet, by his episcopal living among them, he obtained their love and a good report from them." He seems, however, to have changed his course upon his translation to the see of London; where he presently died, "having," it is said, "for many years, with much vigilance, served his church, his king, and his country."—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 617.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (10.)

‡ Dr. Richard Vaughan, successively Bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London, was a person of great learning, piety, and moderation, and an admired preacher. As Fuller says, "he was a very corpulent man, but spiritually minded," and a person of an excellent character.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 295.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 343, 344.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (12.)

Mr. Knewstubs preached his funeral sermon. Messrs. Daniel and Ezekiel Rogers, both eminent puritan divines, were his sons. Mr. Stephen Marshall was his immediate successor at Wethersfield.

He was eminently faithful and laborious in the ministry; and it is said, "the Lord honoured none more in the conversion of souls." He was styled the *Enoch* of his day, a man walking with God; and he used to say, *I should be sorry if every day were not employed as if it were my last.* He was an admired preacher;\* and Bishop Kennet says, "that England hardly ever brought forth a man who walked more closely with God."† Mr. Rogers was always remarkable for seriousness and gravity, in all kinds of company. Being once in company with a gentleman of respectability, who said to him, "Mr. Rogers, I like you and your company very well, only you are *too precise*:" "Oh, sir," replied Mr. Rogers, "*I serve a precise God.*"‡

Mr. Rogers was author of "The Seven Treatises," 1603; which was highly esteemed. "A Commentry upon the whole Book of Judges," 1615. In his dedication of this work, he says he had been in the ministry forty years.

RANDALL BATES was a most holy man, an excellent preacher, and a zealous nonconformist, for which he was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and committed to the Gatehouse; where, after a confinement of twenty months, he died through the hardships of the prison. Mr. John Cotton, who was his contemporary, denominates him "an heavenly saint;" and says, "he suffered in the cause of nonconformity, being choked in prison." Nor could his release be obtained, though Dr. Hering, a learned and excellent physician, earnestly solicited Bishop Neile for his enlargement, declaring that his life was in danger.§ But the suit of the physician was repulsed with reproaches, and the blood of his patient was spilt through the extreme rigour of his confinement. He died in the year 1613.¶ During Mr.

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 219. + Kennet's Chronicle, p. 593.

† Firmin's Real Christian, p. 67. 1<sup>st</sup> edit. 1670.

§ Bishop Neile, it is said, "was always reputed a popish and Arminian prelate, a persecutor of all orthodox and godly ministers, and one who preferred popish and Arminian clergy, making choice of them for his chaplains." He was accused of these things to his majesty by the house of commons, in 1628, and complained of in several parliaments.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 531.

¶ Cotton's Answer to Williams, p. 117.—Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 28.



Bates's imprisonment he wrote a book, entitled, "Meditations whilst he was prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster," which shews him to have been a person of great humility and piety. It discovers a mind strongly attached to the author's views of christian doctrine and church discipline. His views of the latter appear to have been a compound of presbyterianism and independency, as some of his expressions favour the one, and some the other form of church government.

**DANIEL DYKE, B. D.**—This excellent divine was born at Hempstead in Hertfordshire, where his father was a worthy minister, and silenced for nonconformity.\* He received his education at Cambridge, and became a most faithful and useful preacher; but, like his honoured father, was exceedingly persecuted by the intolerant prelates. He was for some time minister of Coggeshall in Essex; but, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, in 1583, he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, and driven out of the county.† Afterwards he settled at St. Albans, in his native county, where his ministry was particularly acceptable and profitable to the people. He united with his brethren in attempting to promote a more pure reformation of the church, and, with this object in view, assembled with them in their private associations.‡ But in this, as in his former situation, the watchful eye of Aylmer was upon him, and he was involved in fresh troubles. Because he continued a *deacon*, and did not enter into *priests'* orders, which the bishop supposed he accounted popish; and because he refused to wear the surplice, and troubled his auditory, as his grace signified, with notions which thwarted the established religion, he was again suspended, and at last deprived. This was in the year 1589.§ The distressed parishioners being concerned for the loss of their minister, petitioned the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who had been Mr. Dyke's great friend, to intercede with the bishop in their behalf. This petition sets forth, "That they had been without any ordinary preaching till within this four or five years; by the want of which they were unacquainted with their duty to God, their sovereign, and their neighbours: and so ignorance and disorder had greatly prevailed among them, for want of

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 28.

† MS. Register, p. 741.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 79.

§ MS. Register, p. 585.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 159.

being taught their duty : but that of late it had pleased the Lord to visit them with the means of salvation, by the ordinary ministry of Mr. Dyke, an authorized minister, who, according to his function, had been painful and profitable, and had carried himself so peaceably and dutifully among them, both in his life and doctrine, that no man could justly find fault with him, except of malice. There were some, indeed, who could not bear to hear their faults reprov'd ; but through his preaching many had been brought from their ignorance and evil ways, to a better life ; to be frequent hearers of God's word ; and their servants were in better order than heretofore."

They then inform his lordship, " that their minister was suspended by the Bishop of London ; and that they were as sheep without a shepherd, exposed to manifold dangers, even to return to their former ignorance and cursed vanities. That the Lord had spoken it, therefore it must be true, *Where no vision is, the people perish.* And having experienced his honourable care for them in the like case heretofore, which they thankfully acknowledged, they earnestly pray his lordship, in the bowels of his compassion, to pity them in their present misery, and become a means that they may again enjoy their preacher."\*

The treasurer, upon the reception of this petition, wrote to the bishop, and requested Mr. Dyke's restoration to his ministry, promising that if he troubled his congregation with innovations in future, he would join his lordship against him ; but the bishop excused himself, insinuating that Mr. Dyke was guilty of incontinency. This occasioned a further investigation of his character. He was tried at the sessions at St. Albans, when the woman herself who accused him, confessed her wicked contrivance, and asked him forgiveness in open court. Mr. Dyke being thus publicly cleared and honourably acquitted, the treasurer was the more urgent with the bishop to restore him ; " because," said he, " the best minister in the nation may be thus slandered ; and the people of St. Albans have no teaching, only they have for their curate an insufficient doting old man. For this favour," said the worthy treasurer, " I shall thank your lordship, and will not solicit you any more, if he shall hereafter give just cause of public offence against the orders of the church established."† But all that the treasurer could do proved ineffectual. The good man was therefore

\* MS. Register, p. 303—306.

† Ibid. p. 306—308.

left under the unmerciful censure of this prelate. But how long he remained so, or whether the bishop ever restored him, we are not able to learn. He died about the year 1614.\* His name, or the name of his brother, Mr. Jeremiah Dyke, another excellent puritan divine, is among those who subscribed the "Book of Discipline."† Mr. Dyke was a man of an unblemished character, a divine of great learning and piety, and a preacher of sound, heart-searching doctrine.‡ Wood denominates him an eminent preacher.§ His writings are excellent for the time, and are still much admired. Bishop Wilkins classes his sermons among the most excellent in his day.|| His works, containing various pieces, were collected and published in 1635, in two volumes quarto. His "Mystery of Self-deceiving," was often published, and was translated into High Dutch. "It is a book," says Fuller, "that will be owned for a *truth*, while men have any *badness* in them; and will be owned as a *treasure*, while they have any *goodness* in them."¶ This work, and his "Treatises on Repentance," are very searching. His doctrine falls as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass.\*\*

ROBERT PARKER.—This learned and celebrated puritan became rector of North-Benfilete in Essex, in the year 1571; but, resigning the benefice the year following, he became rector of West-Henningfield, in the same county, which he held several years.†† Afterwards he became pastor of the church at Dedham, in the same county, where he was predecessor to the famous Mr. John Rogers. He was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. Being afterwards, by some means, restored to his ministry, a day was appointed when he should be deprived, if he still persisted in refusing to wear the surplice; when he most probably received the ecclesiastical censure.‡‡ Having endured these troubles, he left the county, and was afterwards beneficed at Wilton in Wiltshire, where he continued many years.

In the year 1598, Bishop Bilson having published to the

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 29.      † Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Mr. Dyke's "Deceitfulness of the Heart," Dedicat. Edit. 1633.

§ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 788.      || Discourse on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

¶ Worthies, part ii. p. 29.

\*\* Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 454.

†† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 46, 310.

‡‡ MS. Register, p. 584, 741.



world that Jesus Christ, after his death upon the cross, actually descended into the regions of the damned ; many learned divines undertook a refutation of his opinion, and to establish the contrary sentiment. Among these was Mr. Parker, who published a learned piece, entitled, “*De descensu Christi ad Infernos.*” In the year 1607 he published a Treatise on the Cross in Baptism, entitled, “*A Scholasticall Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies, especially the Signe of the Crosse.*” Dr. Grey is pleased to treat Mr. Peirce and Mr. Neal with considerable ridicule for calling it a *very learned* work, and the author himself with much contempt, because he was obliged to leave the country for publishing that which in his opinion contains things *very scandalous* and *offensive*.\* That the work contains things *very scandalous*, except to those who tyrannize over the consciences of their brethren, was never yet proved ; but that it contains things *very offensive* to all who persecute their brethren for refusing to observe their antichristian impositions, was never doubted. The celebrated Dr. Ames says, “It is a work, in truth, of such strength and beauty, that it dazzles the eyes even of envy itself.”† The learned prelates would, indeed, have done their cause no harm, if, when it was published, or at any future period, they had shewn themselves able to answer it. But they went a shorter way to work ; and, instead of attempting any answer, they persuaded the king to issue his royal proclamation, with the offer of a reward, for apprehending the author, which obliged him to hide himself for a season, and then retire into a foreign land.

These troubles came upon him chiefly by the instigation of Archbishop Bancroft ; who receiving information that he was concealed in a certain citizen’s house in London, immediately sent a person to watch the house, while others were prepared with a warrant to search for him. The person having fixed himself at the door, boasted that he had him now secure. Mr. Parker, at this juncture, resolved to dress himself in the habit of a citizen, and venture out, whereby he might possibly escape ; but if he remained in the house he would be sure to be taken. Accordingly, in his strange garb he went forth ; and God so ordered it, that just at the moment of his going out, the watchman at the door spied his intended bride passing on the other side the street ; and while he just stepped over to speak to her,

\* Grey’s Examination, vol. i. p. 50.

† Ames’s Fresh Suit, Pref.

the good man escaped. When the officers came with the warrant to search the house, to their great mortification he could not be found.\*

After this signal providential deliverance, he retired to the house of a friend in the neighbourhood of London, where a treacherous servant in the family gave information to the bishop's officers, who came and actually searched the house where he was; but, by the special providence of God, he was again most remarkably preserved. For the only room in the house which they neglected to search, was that in which he was concealed, from whence he heard them swearing and quarrelling one with another; one protesting that they had not searched that room, and another as confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be searched again. Had he been taken, he must have been cast into prison; where, without doubt, says our author, he must have died.†

Mr. Parker having been favoured with these remarkable interpositions of providence, fled from the storm and went to Holland, and would have been chosen pastor to the English church at Amsterdam, had not the magistrates been afraid of disobliging King James. For the burgomasters of the city informed them, "that, as they desired to keep friendship with his majesty of Great Britain, they should put a stop to that business."‡ His settlement at Amsterdam being thus prevented, he went to Doesburg, and became preacher to the garrison; where, about eight months after his removal, he died, in the year 1614.§ During his short abode at Doesburg, he wrote several very affectionate letters to Mr. John Paget, minister at Amsterdam; in which he discovers a becoming resignation to the will of God, saying, "I thank you for the pains you have taken for me, though without success; at which I am not dismayed, nor at all moved. I am assured it is come to pass by the will of the Lord; who, I know, will be my God, as well out of Amsterdam as in it."|| Mr. Parker was an able writer, a man of great learning and piety, a judicious, faithful, and laborious preacher.¶

In addition to the work already noticed, Mr. Parker was author of "*De Politia Ecclesiastica*;" in which he main-

\* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 22, 23.

† Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 170, 171.

‡ Paget's Ans. to Best and Davenport, p. 27.

§ Paget's Defence of Church Gov. Pref.

|| Ibid.

¶ Clark's Lives, part i. p. 22.—Ames's Fresh Suit, Pref.

tains, that whatever relates to the church of Christ, must be deduced from scripture. "We deny no authority to the king in matters ecclesiastical," says he, "but only that which Jesus Christ, the only head of the church, hath directly and precisely appropriated unto himself, and hath denied to communicate to any creature or creatures in the world. We hold that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of the church in matters of religion; and that the word of Christ, which he hath given to his church, is of absolute perfection, containing all parts of true religion, both for substance and ceremony, and a perfect direction in all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever, unto which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add, or from which to detract."\*

Mr. John Paget of Amsterdam, who was well acquainted with him, gives the following account of his views of church government: "When he came from Leyden, where he and Mr. Jacob had sojourned together for some time, he professed at his first coming to Amsterdam, that the use of synods was for counsel and advice only, but had no authority to give a definitive sentence. After much conference with him, when he had more seriously and maturely considered this question, he plainly changed his opinion, as he professed, not only to me, but to others: so that some of Mr. Jacob's opinion were offended at him, and expostulated not only with him, but also with me, for having occasioned the alteration of his judgment. I had the means of understanding his mind aright, and better than those who pervert his meaning, since he was not only a member of the same church, but a member of the same family, and lived with me under the same roof; where we had daily conversation of these things, even at the time when Mr. Jacob published his unsound writing upon this question. He was afterwards a member of the same eldership, and, by office, sat with us daily to hear and judge the causes of our church, and so became a member of our classical combination; yet did he never testify against the *undue power* of the classis, or complain that we were not a *free people*, though the classis exercised the same authority then as it doth now. He was also for a time the scribe of our consistory, and the acts of our eldership and church were recorded by his own hand."†

Mr. Thomas Parker, another excellent puritan, of whom a memoir will be given, was his son.

\* Troughton's Apology, p. 89, 90. Edit. 1681.

† Paget's Defence, p. 105.



**RICHARD GAWTON.**—This zealous puritan was minister of Snoring in Norfolk, and afterwards in the city of Norwich. Mr. Strype stigmatizes him with having formerly been a man of trade, and then becoming a curate in the church. This may be true, and yet he might be a learned, faithful, and pious minister of Christ, and not enter the church merely for a piece of bread, as was too much the custom of those times. Upon his entrance into the sacred office, he met with barbarous usage from the hands of Archbishop Parker. Having obtained a presentation to the benefice of Snoring, the archbishop peremptorily required him to sign a bond of a hundred marks, to pay Dr. Willoughby, the former incumbent, fourteen pounds a year; though Willoughby, through mere carelessness, had lost the living. If he had refused to pay it, he must have gone to prison. Afterwards, the poor man finding so much difficulty in paying this annuity, was glad to quit the place, and resign the living into the hands of his patron.\*

Upon the resignation of his benefice, he became a preacher in the city of Norwich, but, in the year 1576, was cited before Dr. Freke, his diocesan, for nonconformity.+ Appearing before the bishop, he was charged with refusing to wear the surplice, and with declining from the exact order of the Book of Common Prayer. He confessed the former, and acknowledged that he did not keep exactly to the rubric, but said, that, in other things, he was conformable. Several other charges were alleged against him, as will appear from the following examination before the bishop and others, dated August 20, 1576:

Bishop. You have taken upon you in your pulpit to confute my chaplain's sermon, and have admonished your parishioners to beware of false doctrine.

Gawton. Was it not meet for me so to do, seeing he preached that man has power sufficient to draw himself unto God?

B. You did this the Sunday after he had preached, though he gave you all reasonable satisfaction.

G. In attempting to do this, he made his case worse than it was at first.

B. Wherein hath he made it worse?

\* Parte of a Register, p. 394.—Strype's Parker, p. 373.

+ Bishop Freke was so outrageously violent in the persecution of the puritans, that, in the year 1584, the ministers of Suffolk and Norfolk unitedly presented their complaints against him to the privy council.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 439. (10.)

G. In his last sermon, he said, that hearing was calling; and Paul saith, faith cometh by hearing; but hearing is a natural gift; therefore we have faith, and, consequently, are saved by the exercise of our natural powers.

B. I will call him to dispute with you.

G. I am ready at any time to confute his false doctrine.

B. That is not the cause why I sent for you. I have other matters against you. How many benefices have you?

G. I have too many by one; holding one merely by name, and against my will.

B. You have two benefices more.

G. I am sure I have not.

B. Have you not one benefice in Wales?

G. I have not.

B. We shall sequester the first-fruits of Snoring benefice, because you have not compounded for the fruits of a benefice in Wales.

G. Sequester, and spare not; for I have no benefice in Wales.

B. That is not the thing for which I sent for you. But because you do not wear the surplice, nor observe the order of the queen's book, either in public prayers or the administration of the sacraments; but are altogether out of order.

G. I confess that I wear not the surplice; but I am unjustly charged with not observing the order of the book. I was lately told at court, that you did not much like the surplice; and, therefore, I fear that worldly dignity hath led you to act against your own conscience.

B. There is no reason why any persons should think thus of me, seeing I wear the surplice, or that apparel which is the same; and if I were to say the service or administer the sacraments, I would wear the surplice.

G. I am the more sorry for it.

B. Have you served in any cure in Norwich, or in the diocese of Norwich?

G. I have served a cure at Beast-street Gate, in the city.

B. Have you then acknowledged yourself subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop?

G. I do not acknowledge myself subject to that jurisdiction which is claimed and exercised by the bishop.

B. Beware how you deny authority.

G. I am not afraid to deny the unlawful authority of bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, commissaries, and such

like; though to deny their authority, it is said, approaches near to treason.

Dean. They are your fellows who have so reported it.

G. Nay; they are your fellows, who would fain have it so.

D. Their saying was, that whosoever denies that the queen has ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is in danger of treason.

G. Whosoever hath said so, is worthy to be so accounted.

B. Do you allow that the queen hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction?

G. I do.

B. The queen hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which jurisdiction she hath committed to me; therefore I have ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

G. Though the queen have ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is not absolute, or to do what she pleases. But with all humble submission, I acknowledge all the jurisdiction she claimeth. For her own words declare, that she claimeth no further jurisdiction than the word of God doth allow.

B. I perceive what you mean, and know where that explanation is given.

G. Did the queen then give that explanation merely as a *woman*, or as *queen*? If she gave it as *queen*, it must needs be a declaration of the authority which she claimeth.

B. What do you dislike in the jurisdiction which I claim?

G. What authority have you from the word of God to claim the title of *lord-bishop*, and to exercise government over your *fellow-ministers*?

B. What part of the word of God is against it?

G. Matthew xx.; where Christ forbids his disciples claiming superior titles, and exercising superior authority over one another.

B. You have read no good expositor who so interprets it.

G. Yes, Calvin, Beza, and Musculus. And Beza upon Acts xiii. declares, that in all the New Testament there are no dignified titles given to the apostles.

B. Doth not Christ say, "Ye call me Master, and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am?" Why then should you so much dislike the name?

G. Though the name be due to Christ, it is not due to any mere man.

B. What not *domine*? Is that so much?

G. The word *domine* signifies sir, as well as lord.

B. The queen in her letters patent, directed to the various



states, willed them to receive me *de domino vistro*, which, if you render sir, will be absurd.

G. The queen accounteth none of you as *lords*; only by custom from your predecessors, the popish bishops, you are called *lords*.

B. In the acts of parliament we are called lords spiritual, as the others are called lords temporal.

G. That is merely through custom, as before.

D. Bullinger, Gaultier, and other learned men abroad, in their late letter to the Bishop of Norwich, called him *lord-bishop*.

G. The bishop shewed me their letters, and they called him not by the name of *lord*.

B. But you observe not the order prescribed in the queen's book.

G. I do not think myself bound by law, to observe precisely every part of the queen's book.

B. You do not read the service as appointed by the book.

G. I say the service as appointed, except, for the sake of preaching, I omit some parts; as I may by law. I observe the rest, except the cross and vows in baptism, which I did not consider myself as bound precisely to observe.

B. But you wear not the surplice.

G. I wear it not; and seeing it was established in the church not according to the word of God, I dare not wear it.

B. There are many godly, zealous, and learned men who wear it. Do you then condemn them all?

G. I utterly dislike their wearing it. And you, Mr. Dean, did publicly preach against it, and condemned those who wore it, calling it a superstitious and popish garment.

B. You have preached without renewing your license, since the day appointed in the canons.

G. I was minister of the word of God, and, therefore, had sufficient authority to preach the word in my parish without any further license. Yet I despised not your licenses, so far as they tend to shut out those who would teach popery and false doctrine.

B. You deny our authority, and wear not the surplice. You shall, therefore, be put from the ministry, and return to your occupation.

G. I thank God that I have an occupation to go to, and am not ashamed of it. Jesus Christ and the apostle Paul had an occupation.

D. That Jesus Christ had an occupation cannot be gathered out of the text. It was only the opinion of the people of Nazareth, who said he was a carpenter.

G. And who could tell better than the people of Nazareth, among whom he lived? I think they could best tell what was his occupation.

Here the bishop pronounced the sentence of suspension upon Mr. Gawton, and the register entered it upon record.

G. I now perceive, that if one had the eloquence of Chrysostom, the learning of Austin, and the divinity of St. Paul, if he did not wear the surplice, you would put him out of the ministry.

B. So we would. And if St. Paul were here, he would wear a *fool's coat*, rather than be put to silence.

G. He would then act contrary to his own doctrine. For he saith, he would eat no flesh while the world standeth, rather than offend a weak brother; and, surely, he would be equally scrupulous in offending his brethren by wearing superstitious and popish garments. Your dealing thus with us in corners, will not further your cause, but hinder it, and further ours; for all men will see you fear the light. You have now authority on your side; but we are not above half a dozen unconformable ministers in this city; and if you will confer with us by learning, we will yield up our lives, if we are not able to prove the doctrines we hold to be consonant to the word of God.

B. That is uncharitably spoken; for no man sought your lives.

G. The dean here says, that he who seeks our livings, seeks our lives.

D. You are like the apothecaries, setting papers on empty boxes.

G. You, indeed, may very properly be so denominated. For if you were otherwise than as empty boxes, you would not be afraid to have the cause tried.\*

The examination thus closed, and the good man, being suspended, was dismissed from his lordship's presence. Upon his suspension, Mr. Neal, by mistake, says, that he sent a bold letter to the bishop. This letter was evidently written by another person.† We find, however, that after receiving the episcopal censure, Mr. Gawton and several of his brethren, wrote an excellent letter to Mr. Thomas Cartwright, wherein they express, with considerable freedom,

\* Parte of a Register, p. 393—400.

† See Art. R. Harvey.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 306.

their firmness in the cause of nonconformity. This letter, dated from London, May 25, 1577, was as follows:

“ We stand resolved that what we have done concerning the ceremonies, the cross in baptism, &c. is most agreeable to the word of God and the testimony of a good conscience. By the help of God, we will labour even in all things, to the utmost of our power, to be found faithful and approved before God and men; and, therefore, we will not betray that truth which it hath pleased God, in his great goodness, to make known unto us. You will know we do nothing *contentiously*: therein we are clear before God and men. But we wish you to understand, that the iniquitous times in which we live, and the great trials which we, as well as you, have to endure in the cause of God, and a thousand such afflictions, shall not, the Lord helping us, make us shrink from the maintenance of his truth. The same good opinion we have conceived of you, not doubting that he who hath hitherto made you a glorious witness of truth, will still enable you to go forwards in the same course. And yet we think it meet, both on account of our own dulness, and the evil days come upon us, that we should quicken one another in so good a cause. We deal thus with you, whom, both for learning and godliness, we very much love and reverence in the Lord; and we commit you to God, and the word of his grace, which is able, and no doubt will, in due time, further build up both you and us, to the glory of his name, and our endless comfort in Christ.

“ RICHARD GAWTON,  
 “ THOMAS PENNY,  
 “ NATHANIEL BAXTER,  
 “ GEORGE GYLDRED,  
 “ NICHOLAS CRANE,

GYLES SEYNTCLER,  
 NICHOLAS STANDON,  
 JOHN FIELD,  
 THOMAS WILCOCKS.\*

It does not appear how long Mr. Gawton continued in a state of suspension; only in the year 1581, he was preacher at Bury St. Edmunds; but I am apt to think, says our learned historian, seeing his opinions and practice were still the same, this was owing to the want of proper discipline, and to the countenance he there met with, notwithstanding his suspension.† Admitting this account to be correct, his suspension must have continued at least five

\* MS. Register, p. 896.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 20.



years. In the year 1602, a minister of the same name, and most probably the same person, became vicar of Redburn in Hertfordshire, where he continued till June, 1616, when he died.\*

HENRY AIRAY, D. D.—This learned person was born in Westmoreland, in the year 1560, and received his grammar learning under the famous Mr. Bernard Gilpin, who, at the age of nineteen, sent him to Edmund's-hall, Oxford; but afterwards he removed to Queen's college. Having taken his degrees, he became a frequent and zealous preacher, was chosen provost of the college, and afterwards vice-chancellor of the university. In each of these departments, says Wood, he shewed himself a zealous Calvinist, and a great promoter of those of his own opinion, but went beyond the number of true English churchmen. And he adds, that though he condemned himself to obscurity, and affected a retired life, being generally admired and esteemed for his holiness, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the ministerial function, he could not keep himself from public notice.† By his singular wisdom, learning, and prudence, in the government of his college, many scholars went forth, who became bright ornaments both in church and state. Another writer observes, that he was so upright and unrebukable through the whole of his conversation, that he was reproached by some as a *precisian*. But how much he condemned the injurious zeal of the separatists; how far he disliked all the busy disturbers of the church's peace; how partially he revered his holy mother, the church of England; and how willingly he conformed himself to her seemly ceremonies and injunctions, his practice and his friends are witness. He was, it is added, an humble and obedient son of the church, and no less an enemy to faction than to separation.‡

However much Dr. Airay might oppose the separatists, or partially reverence the church of England, or willingly conform himself to her seemly ceremonies and injunctions, it is an indubitable fact, that he was a true nonconformist. When he was provost of Queen's college, he was called in question by the vice-chancellor, for his nonconformity to the ceremonies and discipline of the church. And on

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 859.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Airay on Phil. Pref. Edit. 1618.

account of his zeal in the same cause, he very narrowly escaped being constrained to make a public recantation.\* He wrote and published a "Treatise against Bowing at the name of Jesus," shewing the superstition and absurdity of that popish relict.

In the year 1606, Mr. William Laud, afterwards the famous archbishop, having preached at Oxford, his sermon contained many scandalous and popish sentiments; for which he was called before Dr. Airay the vice-chancellor, to give an account of what he had delivered. It was the opinion of many that he was a papist, or very much inclined to popery; and he narrowly escaped making a public recantation.+ Dr. Airay having accomplished his days upon earth, meekly and patiently surrendered himself to God, earnestly desiring to depart and to be with Christ. And having devoutly committed his soul to the care of his dear Redeemer, he closed his eyes in peace, and was carried to his grave with honour. He died October 6, 1616, aged fifty-six years; and his remains were interred in the inner chapel of Queen's college.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Lectures upon the whole Epistle to the Philippians, 1618.—2. The just and necessary Apology touching his Suit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore, in Oxfordshire, 1621.—3. A Treatise against Bowing at the Name of Jesus.

**GEORGE WITHERS, D. D.**—This person was a divine of good learning, incorporated in both universities, and afterwards preacher at Bury St. Edmunds; but in the year 1565, refusing to enter into bonds to wear the square cap, he was silenced by Archbishop Parker. Afterwards, however, by the urgent entreaties of his people, he wrote a submissive letter to his lordship, signifying his willingness to wear the cap, rather than the godly people should be discouraged, or the wicked led to triumph.‡

Dr. Withers being a learned and popular preacher, was chosen one of the preachers to the university of Cambridge; and being an avowed enemy to popery, he recommended to the university to pull down the superstitious and ridiculous paintings in the glass windows. This occasioned a considerable noise in the university, and created him

\* Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 481.—*Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 288. Edit. 1796.

† *Ibid.*—Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 54.

‡ Strype's *Parker*, p. 187, 188.

great trouble. Archbishop Parker cited him before the high commissioners, to answer for what he had done; and upon his appearance, his lordship demanded his license to preach in that seat of learning. He therefore produced the letters of the university, by which, in the year 1563, he was nominated and appointed one of the twelve university preachers. The archbishop pronounced this license defective, being in the name of the vice-chancellor, masters, and scholars alone, without the name of the chancellor. He wrote, at the same time, to Sir William Cecil, the chancellor, urging him to exercise his authority.\* By these proceedings, Dr. Withers was most probably forbidden preaching any more at Cambridge; but it does not appear whether he suffered any other punishment.

Upon the above commotions, he travelled to Geneva, Zurich, and other places, where he became intimately acquainted with Bullinger, Gaultier, and other learned divines. Having remained among his new friends a few years, he returned to England; and, in October, 1570, was made archdeacon of Colchester; and, in November, 1572, was admitted rector of Danbury in Essex. He submitted to the ceremonies for the sake of peace, though he never approved of them.† In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, and the oppressive measures which immediately followed, he wrote to his worthy friend the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, expressing his strong objections against such rigorous proceedings. In this letter, dated from Danbury, February 19, 1583, he addressed the treasurer as follows:‡

“My duty to your honour in most humble manner premised, with my most earnest prayer to God for you. Your continual care of the church, and the importunity of my friends, have enforced me to write to your lordship concerning the present controversies in the church. I have long wished the church were rid of some things, in the retaining of which I can see no advantage. The silencing of ministers is like a man who, being angry with his shepherd, forbids him to feed his sheep, yet appoints none other in his place, and so the sheep starve in the fold. Your care to have insufficient ministers removed, is commendable and godly.

“With regard to the subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, now urged, though I think reverently of the book;

\* Strype's Parker, p. 192—194.

† Ibid. p. 198, 199.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 62—64.



yet to think that its authors erred in nothing, is a reverence due to the canonical books of scripture alone, and not to any human author whatever. The things in the book which I wish reformed are, first, such as cannot be defended: as private baptism. How to reconcile it to the doctrine of the church as by law established, to me appears impossible. Also the minister receiving the other sacrament with the sick man alone, is contrary to the nature of the communion; contrary to the doctrine established; and is cousin-german to the *private mass*. The other things are taken out of the popish portuis, and translated into the Book of Common Prayer, which serves to confirm our adversaries in popery. I wish the weapon were taken out of their hands.

“It is also an inconvenience, that the translation of the scripture, as corrupted by the bishops, still remaineth in the Book of Common Prayer uncorrected: that the interrogatories in baptism are directed to infants; and that the present urging of subscription, instead of producing greater *unity*, I fear it will make greater *division*. For I think that many who now use the book, and are in other things conformable, will hardly yield to subscribe according to the form now required. Beseeching your lordship to pardon my boldness, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God.

“Your lordship’s in Christ,

“GEORGE WITHERS.”

Dr. Withers quitted the rectory of Danbury in 1605, most probably on account of his nonconformity; but remained archdeacon to his death. He died previous to April 10, 1617.\* The Oxford historian denominates him, “The Puritanical Satirist.”† He published “The Layman’s Letters,” 1585.—“A View of the Marginal Notes in the Popish Testament,” 1588.

FRANCIS BUNNEY, A. B.—This person was born at Vach, near Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, May 8, 1543, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he became fellow of Magdalen college. He entered upon the ministerial work in 1567, and soon became an admired and a popular preacher. He was for some time chaplain to the Earl of Bedford; but, upon the resignation of his fellowship, he retired into the north of England, where he dis-

\* Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 92.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 494.

covered uncommon zeal, constancy, and popularity in his ministerial labours. In the year 1572, he became prebendary of Durham; the year following, upon the resignation of Mr. Ralph Lever, he was made archdeacon of Northumberland; and in 1578, he became rector of Ryton, in the bishopric of Durham. Though he obtained these preferments, he did not hold them all at the same time, but in succession.\* Upon his going into the north, the Bishops Pilkington and Barns, successively of Durham, shewed him great favour, and his labours were rendered particularly useful.+ The former of these prelates was a great friend to the puritans and silenced nonconformists. He often took them under his patronage and protection. He connived at their nonconformity; and, to the utmost of his power, promoted, encouraged, and sheltered them from the storm. Such appears to have been the conduct of this generous prelate towards Mr. Bunney. Wood says "he was very zealous in his way, (meaning the way of puritanism;) a great admirer of John Calvin, a constant preacher, and much given to charity; but a stiff enemy to popery."‡ He died at Ryton, April 16, 1617, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place; and upon the wall over his grave is a monumental inscription on a brass plate, the first stanza of which is the following:

My bark now having won the haven,  
I fear no stormy seas;  
God is my hope, my home is heaven,  
My life is happy ease.

Mr. Bunney, by his last will and testament, bequeathed thirty-three pounds to Magdalen college, Oxford, and one hundred pounds towards the erection of new colleges in that university. He was brother to Mr. Edmund Bunney, another puritan divine, whose memorial is given in the following article.

His WORKS.—1. A Survey and Trial of the Pope's Supremacy, 1590.—2. A Comparison between the ancient Faith of the Romans and the new Romish Religion, 1595.—3. Answer to a Popish Libel, called *A Petition to the Bishops, Preachers, and Gospellers*, 1607.—4. Exposition on Romans iii. 28, wherein is manifestly proved the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, 1616.—5. A plain and familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments, 1617.—6. *In Joelis Prophetiam enarratio*. The last was left in manuscript, and probably never published.

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 355, 740.

† Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 355. ‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 355.

EDMUND BUNNEY, B. D.—This zealous minister was born at Vach, near Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1540, and educated in the university of Oxford; where, on account of his great knowledge of logic and philosophy, he was elected probationer fellow of Magdalen college. He was the son of Mr. Richard Bunney of Newton, usually called Bunney-hall, near Wakefield in Yorkshire. His father, designing him for the law, removed him from the university, and sent him to the inns of court, where he continued about four years. Mr. Bunney, not liking the law, resolved to study divinity, for which his father cast him off, and disinherited him.\* Upon this he returned to Oxford, and in 1565, was elected fellow of Merton college, and admitted to the reading of the sentences. There was not at this time a single preacher in his college, and the greatest scarcity through the whole university; but Mr. Bunney was chosen preacher to the society. In this situation, he soon became a very eminent, constant, and popular preacher.† He used frequently to visit the university, for many years after he left it; when he was constantly engaged in preaching; and, by his sound doctrine and holy life, was the means of doing unspeakable good, especially among the scholars. He also travelled like an apostle, over most parts of England, every where preaching the word. Hereby he incurred the displeasure and censure of many. But, to acquit himself of all blame, he wrote “A Defence of his Labour in the Work of the Ministry.” This he dispersed among his friends, though it does not appear that it was ever published. But because he was a thorough Calvinist, and a zealous puritan, Wood denominates him “a busy, forward, and conceited man, and a most fluid preacher.” According to this writer, he seldom or never studied his sermons, but prayed and preached extempore; and, in the opinion of many, was troubled with the *divinity squirt*: and, he adds, that, by the liberties which he took in his preaching, he did a great deal of harm.‡ The same author, indeed, styles him “an excellent writer, an eminent preacher, and a learned theologist.”§ Mr. Strype calls him “an eminent writer and divine.”||

About the year 1570, Mr. Bunney became chaplain to Grindal, Archbishop of York, who gave him a prebend in

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 364.

† Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 364, 365.

§ *Ibid.* p. 395, 717.—*Hist. and Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 152.

|| Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 609.



that church, and the rectory of Bolton-Percy, near the city of York. After holding the rectory twenty-five years, he resigned the living, when he was made sub-dean of York. He died at Cawood in that county, February 26, 1617, aged fifty-seven years. His remains were interred in the south aisle joining to the choir of the cathedral of York; and over his grave is his effigy carved in stone and fixed in the wall, with a monumental inscription to his memory, of which the following is a translation :

EDMUND BUNNEY,  
born of the ancient and noble family of the Bunneys,  
was Bachelor of Divinity,  
and once Fellow of Merton College, Oxford,  
Pastor of the parish of Bolton-Percy,  
a very worthy Prebendary of St. Paul's, London ;  
of St. Peter's, York ;  
and St. Mary's, Carlisle.  
He spent a great part of his time in going about  
from place to place in preaching,  
leaving, for the love he had to Christ,  
the patrimony bequeathed him by his father,  
to his brother Richard.  
He died February 26,  
in the year 1617.

His WORKS.—1. The Summ of the Christian Religion, 1576.—2. An Abridgment of John Calvin's Institutions, 1580.—3. A Treatise of Purification, 1584.—4. The Coronation of King David, 1588.—5. A necessary Admonition out of the Prophet Joel, concerning the hand of God that late was upon us, and is not clean taken off as yet, 1588.—6. A brief Answer to those idle and frivolous Quarrels of R. P. (Robert Parsons) against the late edition of the Resolution, 1589.—7. Divorce for Adultery, and Marrying again, that there is no sufficient Warrant so to do, 1610.—8. The Corner Stone; or, a form of Teaching Jesus Christ out of the Scriptures, 1611.

EUSEBIUS PAGET.—This excellent divine was born at Cranford in Northamptonshire, about the year 1542, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. He went to the university at twelve years of age, and became an excellent logician and philosopher. During his abode at Oxford, he broke his right arm, and was lame of it ever after. Removing from the university, he became vicar of Oundle, and rector of Langton,\* in his native county, but was exceedingly harassed on account of his nonconformity.

\* Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 366.

January 29, 1573, he was cited before Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, who first suspended him for the space of three weeks, then deprived him of his living, worth a hundred pounds a year. Several others were suspended and deprived at the same time, because they could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to certain promises and engagements proposed to them by the bishop.\* Upon their deprivation, they presented a supplication to the queen and parliament, for their restoration to their beloved ministry; but to no purpose: They must subscribe, or be buried in silence. A circumstantial account of these intolerant proceedings will be found in another place.†

In the year 1576, Mr. Paget was exercised with new oppressions. His unfeeling persecutors, not content with depriving him of his ministry and his living, ordered him to be taken into custody, and sent up to London. He was, therefore, apprehended, with Mr. John Oxenbridge, another leading person in the associations in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and they were both carried prisoners to the metropolis, by a special order from Archbishop Grindal.‡ It does not, however, appear how long they were kept in custody, nor what further persecutions they suffered.

Mr. Paget was afterwards preferred to the rectory of Kilkhampton in Cornwall. Upon his presentation to the benefice, he acquainted both his *patron* and *ordinary*, that he could not, with a good conscience, observe all the rites, ceremonies, and orders appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; when they generously promised, that, if he would accept the cure, he should not be urged to the precise observation of them. On these conditions, he accepted the charge, and was regularly admitted and inducted.§ He was a *lame man*; but, in the opinion of Mr. Strype, “a learned, peaceable, and good divine, who had formerly complied with the customs and devotions of the church, and had been indefatigable in the ministry.”|| But Mr. Farmer, curate of Barnstaple, envying his popu-

\* Dr. Edmund Scambler, successively bishop of Peterborough and Norwich, was the first pastor of the protestant congregation in London, in the reign of Queen Mary; but was compelled, on account of the severity of persecution, to relinquish the situation. He was a learned man, very zealous against the papists, and probably driven into a state of exile: but, surely, he forgot his former circumstances when he became a zealous persecutor of his brethren in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

† See Art. Arthur Wake.

§ MS. Register, p. 572.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 215, 216.

|| Strype's Whitgift, p. 377.

larity, complained of him to the high commission; when the following charges were exhibited against him:—"That in his prayers he never mentioned the queen's supremacy over *both* estates.—That he had said the sacraments were only *dumb elements*, and would not avail without the word preached.—That he had preached that Christ did not descend, both body and soul, into hell.—That the pope might set up the feast of *jubilee*, as well as the feasts of *Easter* and *Pentecost*.—That holy days and fast days were only the inventions of men, which we are not obliged to follow.—That he disallowed of the use of *organs* in divine worship.—That he called ministers who did not preach, *dumb dogs*; and those who have two benefices, *knaves*.—And that he preached that the late Queen Mary was a detestable woman, and a wicked Jezebel."\* These were the crimes exhibited against our divine; though upon his appearance before Archbishop Whitgift and other commissioners, January 11, 1584, he was charged only in the common form, with refusing to observe the Book of Common Prayer, and the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies; to which he made the following reply:†

"I do acknowledge, that by the statute of the 1 Eliz. I am bound to use the said Book of Common Prayer, in such manner and form as is prescribed, or else abide by such pains as by the law are imposed upon me. I have not refused to use the Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments, in such order as the book appoints, though I have not used *all* the rites, ceremonies, and orders set forth in the said book. 1. Because, to my knowledge, there is no Common Prayer Book in the church. 2. Because I am informed, that you, before whom I stand, and mine ordinary, and greatest part of the other bishops and ministers, do use greater liberty in omitting and altering the said rites, ceremonies, and orders. 3. Because I am not resolved in my conscience, that I may use divers of them. 4. Because, when I took the charge of that church, I was promised by mine *ordinary*, that I should not be urged to such ceremonies; which, I am informed, he might do by law.

"In those things which I have omitted, I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of administration of the sacraments or open prayers, than is mentioned in the said book; although there are some things which I doubt

\* MS. Register, p. 574, 575.

† Ibid. p. 570.



whether I may use or practise. Wherefore, I humbly pray, that I may have the liberty allowed by the said book, of having in some convenient time, a favourable conference, either with mine ordinary, or with some other by you appointed. This I seek not for any desire I have to keep the said living, but only for the better resolution and satisfaction of my own conscience, as God knoweth. Subscribed by me,

“Lame, EUSEBIUS PAGET.”

This answer proving unsatisfactory to Whitgift and his brethren, Mr. Paget was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his suspension, he was deprived of his benefice. The principle reasons of his deprivation, were, “The omission of part of the public prayers, the cross in baptism, and the surplice; and the irregularity of dealing in the ministry after his suspension.”

In the opinion of the learned civilians, however, these things were not sufficient cause of deprivation, and, consequently, the proceedings of the high commission were deemed unwarrantable. The case was argued at some length; and being now before me, the reader is here favoured with the reasons on which the opinion is founded. His deprivation was accounted upwarrantable, because he had not time, nor conference, as he desired, and as the statute in doubtful cases warranted. He had not three several admonitions, nor so much as *one*, to observe those things in due time, as the law required. If this had been done, and, after such respite and admonition, he had not conformed, then the law would have deemed him a recusant, but not otherwise. And if the whole of this process had been regularly observed, Mr. Paget’s omissions had so many favourable circumstances, as, that the parish had not provided a Prayer Book, and his ordinary had promised that he should not be urged to observe all the ceremonies, that it was hardly consistent with prudence and charity to deprive him so suddenly.

As to his irregularity in preaching after his suspension, the civilians were of opinion, that the suspension was void, because founded upon a process not within the cognizance of those who pronounced the sentence. For the ground of the sentence was his refusing to subscribe to articles devised and tendered by the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had no warrant whatever to offer any such articles. Their authority, as expressed in their commission, extended no farther than to reform and correct those things which were

contrary to certain statutes, and other ecclesiastical laws ; there being no clause in the commission allowing them to require subscription to articles of their own invention. They further argued, that, on supposition the suspension had been warrantable, all irregularity was done away by the queen's pardon, long before his deprivation. Besides, Mr. Paget did not exercise himself in the ministry after his suspension, nor even attempt to do it, till after he had obtained from the archbishop himself a release from that suspension ; which he apprehended, in such a case, to be sufficient, seeing his grace was chief in the commission. And in addition to this, all the canonists allowed, that mistakes of ignorance, being void of wilful contempt, as in the present case, were a lawful excuse from irregularity.\* Notwithstanding these arguments in favour of the poor, lame minister of Christ, the learned prelates remained inflexible ; and, right or wrong, were determined to abide by what they had decreed ; therefore, the patron disposed of the living to another.

Mr. Paget's enemies were resolved to ruin him. From the above statement, his case was, indeed, very pitiable. This, however, was not the conclusion of his troubles : his future hardships were still more lamentable. After being deprived both of his ministry and benefice, and having to provide for a numerous family, the poor man set up a small school : but there the extended arms of the high commissioners reached him. For, as he was required to take out a license, and to subscribe to the articles of religion, which he could not do with a good conscience, they shut up his school, as they had before shut him out of the church, and left him to suffer in extreme poverty and want. In this painful condition, he sent an account of his case in a letter to the lord admiral, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was much beloved. In this letter, dated June 3, 1591, he expressed himself as follows :+

“ I never gathered any separate assembly from the church, nor was I ever present in them ; but always abhorred them. I always resorted to my parish church, and was present at service and preaching, and received the sacrament according to the book. I thought it my duty not to forsake the church because it had some blemishes ; but while I have endeavoured to live in peace, others have prepared themselves for war. I was turned out of my living by

\* MS. Register, p. 572, 573. † Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 166, 167.

commandment. Afterwards, I preached without living, and without stipend; and when I was forbidden, I ceased. I then taught a few children, to obtain a little bread for myself and my family; and when some disliked this, and commanded me to give it up, I obeyed and gave it up.

“ I beseech your lordship to continue your great favour towards me, that I may not be turned out of house and calling, and be obliged, as an idle rogue and vagabond, to go from door to door, begging my bread, while I am able to obtain it in a lawful calling. And I beseech you to be a means of obtaining her majesty’s favour, that I may be allowed to live in some place and calling, as becometh a peaceable subject. And I beseech the Lord God to bless and prosper your honour for ever. Your lordship’s most obedient servant,

“ Lame, EUSEBIUS PAGET.”

How long the good man continued under the ecclesiastical censure, we are not able to learn. It is, however, probable he continued some years. Mr. Paget subscribed the “ Book of Discipline.”\* But we find no further account of him till September 21, 1604, when he became rector of St. Ann and Agnes, in Aldersgate-street, London. There he laboured in the Lord’s vineyard, till he finished his work, dying in May, 1617, aged seventy-five years. His remains were interred in his own church. Wood says, “ he was many years a constant and faithful preacher of God’s word.”† And Fuller styles him “ the golden sophister, a painful preacher,” and author of an excellent “ History of the Bible.”‡

HIS WORKS.—1. Sermon on Tithes, 1583.—2. A Catechism, 1591.—3. The History of the Bible, briefly collected by way of Question and Answer, 1627.—4. Sermon on Election.—5. A Translation of Calvin’s Harmony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. He was author also of some other pieces.

THOMAS STONE.—This pious divine was educated in Christ’s Church, Oxford, chosen one of the proctors of the university, and became rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire. He was a person of good learning and great worth, a zealous puritan, and a member of the classis,

\* Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 357.—Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 278.

‡ Fuller’s Worthies, part ii. p. 290.



being sometimes chosen moderator. He united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline;"\* but was afterwards brought into trouble for nonconformity, and his concern to reform church discipline. July 27, 1590, he was apprehended and brought before Attorney-General Popham, and required to take the oath *ex officio*. The day following he was examined in the star-chamber, from six o'clock in the morning till seven at night; and required upon his oath, to give his answer to *thirty-three* articles.† Some of the puritans thought, that when they were examined before their spiritual judges, it was their duty to confess all they knew. This was Mr. Stone's opinion in the case before us. His examination chiefly related to the classical assemblies; and though he could not give a direct answer to all the interrogatories, he gave an account of the greater and lesser assemblies; where they met; how often; and what persons officiated. He answered several questions concerning the authority by which they met together; who were moderators; upon what points they debated; and what censures were exercised. But, in order that this may appear to greater advantage, it will be proper to give those articles upon which he spoke explicitly, with the substance of his answers; which were the following:

1. Who and how many assembled at their classis? where, and when, and how often were they held?

In answer to this article, he specified the names of about forty ministers‡ who attended these assemblies, though not all at one time; and that they had held them in London, Cambridge, Northampton, and Kettering.

2. Who called these assemblies, by what authority, and in what manner?

I know not, says Mr. Stone, by whom they were called; nor do I know any other authority therein, only that which was voluntary, by giving one another intelligence sometimes by letter, and sometimes by word of mouth, as occasion served.

3. Who were moderators in them, and what was their office?

I remember not who were moderators in any assembly particularly, excepting once at Northampton, when Mr.

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 206.

‡ From a list of the ministers, now before me, who attended these assemblies, there were, in all, upwards of eighty.—MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 435. (6.)

Johnson was admonished, and that was Mr. Snape or myself, I am not certain which.

4. What things were debated in those meetings or assemblies?

The principal things considered in those assemblies, were, how far ministers might yield to subscribe unto the Book of Common Prayer, rather than forego their ministry. The "Book of Discipline" was often perused and discussed. Three petitions were agreed upon to be drawn up and presented, one to her majesty, another to the lords of the council, and another to the bishops. As to the particular things debated, I remember only, the perfecting of the "Book of Discipline," and the subscription to it at Cambridge. Also, whether it was convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal the circumstances of the assemblies, a little before he was committed. Likewise the admonition of Mr. Johnson at Northampton. And whether the books of Apocrypha might be warrantably read in public worship, as the canonical scriptures.

5. Were any censures exercised; what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, and for what cause?

I never saw any censure exercised, excepting admonition once given to Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for improper conversation, to the scandal of his calling: nor was that used with any kind of authority, but by voluntary and mutual agreement, as well by him who was admonished, as him who gave the admonition.

6. Have any of the said defendants moved or persuaded any to refuse an oath, and in what case?

I never knew any of the defendants to use words of persuasion to refuse any oath; only Mr. Snape sent me certain reasons gathered out of scripture, which led him to refuse the oath *ex officio*; which, I am persuaded, he sent for no other purpose, than to declare that he refused to swear, not of contempt, but for conscience sake.\*

This is the substance of what is preserved by our historians. Mr. Stone, however, by his long examination, brought many things to light, extremely offensive to the ruling prelates; but which, till that time, were perfectly unknown. Though he did not, it seems, give this information out of any ill design, but because he was required upon his oath so to do; yet many of the puritans were inclined to

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 207—209.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 159—166.

complain of his adding affliction to their bonds, seeing it brought them into many troubles. Mr. Stone, therefore, to acquit himself of the blame attached to him by his brethren, drew up and published a vindication of what he had done. The reasons alleged in his own defence, were in all sixteen; but the principal were, "That he thought it was unlawful to refuse an oath, when offered by a lawful magistrate.—That, having taken the oath, he was not at liberty to say nothing, much less to deliver an untruth.—And he saw no probability, nor even possibility, of things being any longer concealed."\*

Mr. Stone, with several others, having fully discovered the classical associations, many of his brethren were cast into prison, where they remained a long time under extreme hardships; but he was himself released. Having obtained his liberty, he returned to his ministerial charge at Warkton; where he continued without further molestation the remainder of his life. He died an old man and full of days, in the year 1617. Bridges observes, that he was inducted into the living of Warkton in the year 1553.† If this statement be correct, he must have been rector of that place sixty-four years. He was a learned man, of great uprightness, and uncommon plainness of spirit, minding not the things of this world; yet, according to Wood, "a stiff nonconformist, and a zealous presbyterian."‡

**PAUL BAYNES, A. M.**—This excellent divine was born in London, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. His conduct at the university was, at first, so exceedingly irregular, that his father was much displeased with him; and, at his death, left forty pounds a year, to the disposal of his friend Mr. Wilson of Birchin-lane, desiring, that if his son should forsake his evil ways, and become steady, he would give it him; but if he did not, that he should withhold it from him. Not long after his father's death, it pleased God to convince him of his sins, and bring him to repentance. He forsook the paths of vice, and soon became eminent for piety and holiness. Much being forgiven him, he loved much. Mr. Wilson, being taken dangerously ill, and having heard what the

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 209, 210.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 210. —Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 742.



Lord had done for Mr. Baynes, sent for him, when he was much delighted and profited by his fervent prayers and holy conversation. Therefore, according to the trust reposed in him, he made known to Mr. Baynes the agreement into which he had entered with his father, and delivered to him the securities of the above annuity.

Mr. Baynes, it is said, was inferior to none, in sharpness of wit, in depth of judgment, in variety of reading, in aptness to teach, and in holy, pleasant, and heavenly conversation. Indeed, his fame was so great at Cambridge, that, upon the death of the celebrated Mr. Perkins, no one was deemed so suitable to succeed him in the lecture at St. Andrew's. In this public situation, he was much admired and followed; multitudes rejoiced under his ministry; and he so conducted himself, that impiety *alone* had cause to complain.\* Here he was instrumental, under God, in the conversion of many souls. Among these was the holy and celebrated Dr. Sibbs.

His excellent endowments, together with his extensive usefulness, could not screen him from the oppressions of the times. Dr. Harsnet, chancellor to Archbishop Bancroft, visiting the university, silenced him, and put down his lecture, for refusing subscription. Mr. Baynes was required to preach at this visitation, when his sermon was sound and unexceptionable. But being of a weak constitution, he retired at the close of the service, for some refreshment; and being called during his absence, and not answering, he was immediately silenced. Nor were his enemies satisfied with this, but, to make sure work of it, the reverend chancellor silenced him over again; all of which Mr. Baynes received with a pleasant smile on his countenance.† Having received the ecclesiastical censure, he appealed to the archbishop; but his grace stood inflexible to the determination of his chancellor, and threatened to lay the good old man by the heels, for appearing before him with a *little black edging on his cuffs*.‡

After receiving the above censure, Mr. Baynes preached only occasionally, as he found opportunity, and was

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 22, 23.

† Baynes's Diocesans Tryall, Pref. Edit. 1621.

‡ Ibid.—How a little black edging could offend his lordship, is certainly not easy to discover. It was not prohibited by any of the canons, nor any violation of the ecclesiastical constitutions. Therefore, unless the archbishop had some enmity against the good man previously in his heart, it seems difficult to say how he could have been offended with so trivial a matter.

reduced to great poverty and want. Notwithstanding this, he never blamed himself for his nonconformity. But of the persecuting prelates he used pleasantly to say, "They are a generation of the earth, earthly, and savour not the ways of God." He was an excellent casuist, and great numbers under distress of conscience resorted to him for instruction and comfort. This the bishops denominated keeping *conventicles*; and for this marvellous crime, Bishop Harsnet, his most furious persecutor, intended to have procured his banishment. He was, therefore, called before the council; and, being allowed to speak in his own defence, he made so admirable a speech, that before he had done, one of the lords stood up, and said, "He speaks more like an *angel* than a *man*, and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any sentence against him." Upon this he was dismissed, and heard no more of it.\*

Though Mr. Baynes's natural temper was warm and irritable, no one was more ready to receive reproof, when properly administered. Indeed, by the power of divine grace, the lion was turned into a lamb; and he was become of so holy and humble a spirit, that he was exceedingly beloved and revered by all who knew him. During the summer season, after he was silenced, he usually visited gentlemen in the country; and they accounted it a peculiar felicity to be favoured with his company and conversation. In his last sickness, the adversary of souls was permitted to disturb his peace. He laboured to the last under many doubts and fears, and left the world less comfortable than many others, greatly inferior to him in christian faith and holiness. He died at Cambridge, in the year 1617.

The celebrated Dr. Sibbs gives the following account of this accomplished servant of Christ: "Mr. Baynes," says he, "was a man of much communion with God, and acquaintance with his own heart, observing the daily footsteps of his life. He was much exercised with spiritual conflicts, by which he became more able to comfort others. He had a deep insight into the mystery of God's grace, and man's corruption. He sought not great things in the world. He possessed great learning, a clear judgment, and a ready wit."† Fuller has classed him among the learned writers who were fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.‡ What a reproach was it to the ruling prelates, and what a blow against the church of God, when so excellent a divine was cast aside and almost starved!

\* Clark's Lives, p. 23, 24.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

The following anecdote is related of Mr. Baynes, shewing the warmth of his natural temper, with his readiness to receive reproof and to make a proper use of it. A religious gentleman placed his son under his care and tuition; and Mr. Baynes, entertaining some friends at supper, sent the boy into the town for something which they wanted. The boy staying longer than was proper, Mr. Baynes reproved him with some sharpness, severely censuring his conduct. The boy remained silent; but the next day, when his tutor was calm, he thus addressed him: "My father placed me under your care not only for the benefit of human learning, but that by your pious counsel and example, I might be brought up in the fear of God: but you, sir, giving way to your passion the last night, gave me a very evil example, such as I have never seen in my father's house." "Sayest thou so," answered Mr. Baynes. "Go to my tailor, and let him buy thee a suit of clothes, and make them for thee, which I will pay for, to make thee amends." And it is added, that Mr. Baynes watched more narrowly over his own spirit ever after.\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Holy Helper in God's Building, 1618.—2. Discourse on the Lord's Prayer, 1619.—3. The Diocesans Tryall, wherein all the Sinnewes of Dr. Downham's Defence are brought into three Heads and orderly dissolved, 1621.—4. Help to true Happiness, 1635.—5. Brief Directions to a Godly Life, 1637.—6. A Commentary on Ephesians, 1658.

**WILLIAM BRADSHAW, A. M.**—This excellent divine, descended from the ancient family of Bradshaws in Lancashire, was born at Market-Bosworth in Leicestershire, in the year 1571, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Having taken his degrees, he went, by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton, to Guernsey, where he became tutor to the children of Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of the island. In this situation he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Cartwright, which death alone could dissolve. During Mr. Bradshaw's abode at Guernsey, he maintained an unblemished character, and discovered great piety, industry, and faithfulness in his official situation. Upon his return to England, on his way to Cambridge, he very narrowly escaped being drowned. He was chosen fellow of Sidney college, then newly erected. Here he discovered much prudence and piety, and was highly respected. He

\* Clark's Examples, p. 72. Edit. 1671.



was of so amiable a disposition, that his very enemies were constrained to speak well of him. Upon his settlement at Cambridge, he entered into the ministerial office, when he was not particularly urged to observe those things which he scrupled. He preached occasionally at Abington, Bassingborn, and Steeple-Morton, near Cambridge; but did not settle at any of these places.

In the year 1601, having received a pressing invitation from the people of Chatham in Kent, he became their pastor. In this situation, to his own great comfort, and that of the people, his labours were soon made a blessing to many. Multitudes flocked to hear the word at his mouth, which presently awakened the jealousy and envy of other ministers. It was deemed advisable now to obtain his confirmation from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and to this end, Sir Francis Hastings wrote a most pious and modest letter to his lordship.\* At this particular juncture, Mr. Bradshaw's enemies falsely accused him to the archbishop, of preaching unsound doctrine; therefore, instead of obtaining his confirmation, he received a citation from Dr. Buckridge, dated May 26, 1602, to appear by nine o'clock the next morning, before his grace of Canterbury, and his lordship of London, at Shorne, a small distance from Chatham. Mr. Bradshaw appearing at the time and place appointed, the Bishop of London, after asking certain questions, charged him with having taught, "That man is not bound to love God, unless he be sure that God loves him." Mr. Bradshaw denied the charge; and though he offered to produce numerous respectable witnesses in refutation of it, and to prove what he had taught, the offer was rejected. But, to finish the business, and strike him at once dumb, he was required to subscribe; and because he could not, with a good conscience, he was immediately suspended, bound to appear again when called, and then dismissed.†

His unexpected suspension and expulsion from Chatham, caused the friends of Christ to mourn, and his enemies to triumph. His numerous flock, having sat under his ministry with great delight, were peculiarly anxious to have him restored. A supplication was, therefore, drawn up in the name of the parishioners of Chatham, and presented to the Bishop of Rochester, earnestly desiring the restoration

\* This excellent letter, dated April 25, 1602, in which Sir Francis gives high commendations of Mr. Bradshaw's character, is still preserved.—*Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie*, p. 37.

† Ibid. p. 25—44.

of their silenced pastor. In this supplication, after exposing the false charges of his adversaries, they declare, "That Mr. Bradshaw's doctrine was always sound, holy, learned, and utterly void of faction and contention; that his life was so ornamented with unblemished virtues, that malice itself could not condemn him; and that he directed all his labours to beat down wickedness, to comfort the faithful, and to instruct the ignorant, without meddling with the needless controversies of the day." They conclude by humbly entreating his lordship's favour, that he would be the happy means of restoring to them their virtuous and faithful shepherd.\* But the decree of the bishop and archbishop, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, was gone forth; these intercessions were, therefore, ineffectual. The meek and pious divine quietly yielded to be driven from his ministry and his flock.

During these apparently cross dispensations, God, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, was providing for Mr. Bradshaw a place of rest. Being torn from his beloved and affectionate people, by treachery and episcopal power, he found a comfortable retreat under the hospitable roof of Mr. Alexander Redich, of Newhall, near Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire. This pious and worthy gentleman not only received him into his house, but procured him a license from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to preach in any part of his diocese: this favour was continued as long as the bishop lived. In this retired situation, Mr. Bradshaw preached for some time at the chapel in the park; then, when that became too small, in the parish church of Stapenhill. This he did for about twelve years, receiving nothing from the parish. During the whole of this period, he was supported by his worthy patron, in whose family he lived, and was treated with the utmost kindness. Mr. Bradshaw was afterwards chosen lecturer of Christ's church, London; but the bishop absolutely refused his allowance.

Conformity being now enforced with great rigour, several worthy divines ventured to set forth their grievances, their exceptions, and the grounds of their dissent, and to answer the arguments of their opponents. Among these was Mr. Bradshaw, who published his Reply to Dr. Bilson† and Dr.

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 42.

† Dr. Bilson's celebrated work in defence of the national church, is entitled, "The perpetuall Government of Christes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly superioritie which God first established in the

Downham, two notable champions for episcopacy and the ceremonies. The puritans being treated with great severity, and stigmatized as fanatics, schismatics, and enemies both to God and the king; Mr. Bradshaw, to remove these slanders, and to give the world a correct statement of their principles, published his "English Puritanism, containing the main Opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritans in the realm of England." In this excellent performance, to which the learned Dr. Ames wrote a preface, and translated it into Latin, for the benefit of foreigners, it is observed, "That the puritans maintain the absolute perfection of the holy scriptures, both as to faith and worship; and that whatever is required as a part of *divine service*, which cannot be warranted by the word of God, is unlawful." This is the broad basis on which they founded their opinions and practice; and in correspondence with this generous sentiment, they further maintained, "That the pastors of particular congregations are the highest spiritual officers in the church of Christ, over whom there is, by divine ordinance, no superior pastor, excepting Jesus Christ alone.—That they are led by the spirit of antichrist, who arrogate to themselves to be pastors of pastors.—That every particular church hath power to elect its own officers, and to censure its own members.—That, to force a congregation to support a person as their pastor, who is either unable or unwilling to instruct them, is as great an injury as to force a man to maintain as his wife, one who refuseth to perform the duties of a wife," &c.\*

All books published in defence of the puritans were, indeed, accounted dangerous both to church and state; and when they came forth, the most diligent search was made for them, as well as for their authors. Therefore, Mr. Bradshaw being in London, two pursuivants were sent to his lodgings to apprehend him, and to search for suspected books. When the pursuivants came, he was not to be found; and, not more than half an hour before their arrival, his wife, to prevent danger, had taken a quantity of those

Patriarkes for the guiding of his church, and after continued in the tribe of Levi and the Prophetes: and lastlie confirmed in the New Testament to the Apostles and their Successors: as also the points in question at this day, touching the Jewish Synedrion; the true Kingdome of Christ; the Apostles Commission; the Laie Presbyterie; the Distinction of Bishops and Presbyters, and their succession from the Apostles times and hands:" &c. 1593. This, it is said, is one of the best books written in favour of episcopacy.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 310. Edit. 1778.

\* English Puritanism, p. 36—42. Edit. 1660.



books out of his study, and cast them into a hole between two chimnies : and though they broke open chests, trunks, and boxes, and searched every corner in the house they could think of, the books remained undiscovered. Nevertheless, they carried Mrs. Bradshaw before the high commission, where she underwent a severe examination, with an evident design to make her betray her husband ; but their purpose having utterly failed, after binding her to appear when called, she was dismissed.\*

In the year 1617, Mr. Bradshaw returning from a journey, the bishop's chancellor welcomed him home with a suspension from preaching any more, without his further allowance. But, by the mediation of a worthy friend, the chancellor soon became satisfied ; took off his restraint ; and the good man went forwards in the peaceable exercise of his ministry. Besides preaching constantly at Stapenhill, this learned divine united with his brethren in their associations at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Repton, and Burton-upon-Trent. On these occasions, besides public preaching, for the benefit of the respective congregations, they had private religious conference among themselves. For their mutual advantage, they proposed subjects for discussion ; when Mr. Bradshaw is said to have discovered a depth of judgment, and a power of balancing points of controversy, superior to the rest of his brethren. On account of his great abilities, he was commonly styled *the weighing divine*. He was well grounded in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and well studied in the points about subscription, the ceremonies, the civil power, and the authority of the prelates ; yet he was an enemy to separation.†

Mr. Bradshaw, in his last sickness, had very humiliating views of himself, and exalted views of God and the power of his grace. He exhorted those about him, to learn to die before death approached ; and to lay a foundation in time of life and health, that would afford them comfort in time of sickness and death. At Chelsea, near London, he was seized with a malignant fever, which baffled all the power of medicine, and soon terminated his mortal existence. He died in peace, and in great satisfaction with his nonconformity, in the year 1618, aged forty-seven years : his remains were interred at Chelsea, and most of the ministers about the city attended the funeral solemnity. His funeral sermon

\* Clark's Lives, p. 43—46.

† Ibid. p. 49, 52, 56.

was preached by his worthy friend Mr. Thomas Gataker, who gave him the following character: "He was studious, humble, upright, affectionate, liberal, and compassionate. He possessed a sharp wit, a clear apprehension, a sound judgment, an exact method, a powerful delivery, and a singular dexterity in clearing up intricate debates, discovering the turning points in dispute, stating controversies aright, and resolving cases of conscience." The celebrated Bishop Hall says, "He had a strong understanding, and a free spirit, not suffering himself for small matters of judgment to be alienated from his friends; to whom, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity. He was very strong and eager in argument, hearty in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliment, a lover of reality, full of digested learning and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's work, and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded."\*

The productions of Mr. Bradshaw's pen were numerous, and most of them very excellent. His "Treatise of Justification," was much admired by men of learning, as appears from the following anecdote: Some time after Mr. Bradshaw's death, the famous Dr. Prideaux, being in company with his son, and, finding who he was, said, "I am glad to see the son of that man, for the old acquaintance I had, not with your father, but with his Book of Justification."† We shall give a list of his pieces, in addition to those already mentioned, though perhaps not in the exact order in which they came forth, as it is difficult to procure an exact statement of the time of their publication.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Treatise of Divine Worship, tending to prove that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England, in present Controversy, are in their use unlawful, 1604.—2 A Treatise of the Nature and Use of Things Indifferent, tending to prove that the Ceremonies, in present Controversy, are neither in Nature or Use Indifferent, 1605.—3. Twelve Arguments, proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England by our Prelates, are unlawful; and, therefore, that the Ministers of the Gospel, for the bare and sole omission of them in Church-service, for conscience sake, are most unjustly charged of Disloyalty to his Majesty, 1605.—4. A Protestation of the King's Supremacy, made in the name of the Afflicted Ministers, and opposed to the shameful Calumniation of the Prelates, 1605.—5. A Proposition concerning Kneeling in the very Act of Receiving, 1605.—6. A short Treatise of the Cross in Baptism.—7. A Consideration of

\* Clark's Lives, p. 51, 60.

† Ibid. p. 53.

certain Positions Archiepiscopal.—8. A Preparation to the Lord's Supper.—9. A Marriage Feast.—10. A Meditation on Man's Mortality.—11. Sermons on the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.—12. A Treatise of Christian Reproof.—13. A Treatise of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.—14. A Twofold Catechism.—15. An Answer to Mr. G. Powel.—16. A Defence of the Baptism of Infants.—17. The Unreasonableness of Separation.

Mr. JENKIN was son to a gentleman of considerable estate at Folkstone in Kent, and educated in the university of Cambridge, with a view to some considerable preferment in the church. Being here cast under the ministry of the celebrated Mr. William Perkins, he soon became impressed with great seriousness, and embarked with the puritans. His father discovering this upon his return home, and disliking that sort of people, was pleased to disinherit him of the greatest part of his estate. Thus young Jenkin was called to bear the yoke in his youth, and to forsake father and mother, houses and land, for his attachment to Christ and his cause. He trusted in the Lord, and found him to be a constant friend. When he found his company disagreeable to his father, he removed to the house of Mr. Richard Rogers, the old puritan minister of Wethersfield in Essex, where he diligently prosecuted his studies. Entering afterwards upon the ministerial function, he settled at Sudbury in Suffolk. In this situation he was laborious in preaching and catechising; and while he was signally useful to many, he adorned the whole by a corresponding holy conversation. After his settlement at this place, he married the grand-daughter of Mr. John Rogers, the famous protomartyr. Mr. Jenkin died about the year 1618.\* Mr. John Wilson, another celebrated puritan, was his successor at Sudbury; and Mr. William Jenkin, the ejected nonconformist, was his son.†

SAMUEL HIERON.—This excellent divine was the son of a most worthy minister, who, being much respected by the famous Mr. John Fox, was persuaded to lay aside teaching school, and enter upon the christian ministry. He laboured in the sacred office many years at Epping in Essex, where God was pleased greatly to bless his endeavours. This his son was educated first by his father, then at King's school,

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 17.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 109.



near Windsor, and afterwards at King's college, Cambridge, where he made amazing progress in the various branches of literature. One of his name united with many others of Trinity college, in their invitation to Lord Burleigh, in 1595, to accept the office of treasurer of the college; but it does not appear with certainty whether this was the same person.\*

He entered upon his public ministry, and gained, at the age of twenty-four years, a distinguished reputation, and was greatly admired and followed. Having finished his studies at the university, he was presented by Sir Henry Savile to the vicarage of Modbury in Devonshire, where he continued the remainder of his days, the Lord greatly blessing his labours. Here he was revered by the poor, admired by the rich, countenanced by the great, and respected by all.†

Mr. Hieron was a celebrated divine, and a most noted puritan. He wrote several excellent pieces in defence of nonconformity, though they were never collected and published with his other works. One of them is entitled, "A short Dialogue proving that the Ceremonies and some other Corruptions now in question, are defended by no other Arguments than such as the Papists have heretofore used, and our Protestant Writers have long since Answered: whereunto are annexed certain Considerations why the Ministers should not be moved by the Subscription and Ceremonies," 1605. He was also the anonymous author of another piece, entitled, "A Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, and of Conformity, in Answer to Mr. T. Hutton, Dr. W. Covel, and Dr. T. Sparke," 1607. This work was printed in Holland, and sent over packed up with the goods of one Mr. T. Sheveril, an eminent merchant of Plymouth; but, as no bookseller durst sell it, on account of the severity of the times, the whole impression was given away. Some of the copies were sent to the persecuting bishops, some to his antagonists, and some to the universities; but the author was never discovered to his enemies, or to the collectors of his works. Thus Mr. Hieron was deeply engaged in the public controversies of the day, though unknown to his opponents. There was also, "The Second Part of the Defence of the Ministers' Reasons," 1608; and "The Third Part of the Same," 1608; but I am not sure, says my

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 50.

† Hieron's Works, Pref. Edit. 1624.

author, whether Mr. Hieron was the author of them.\* He was particularly intimate with some of the most celebrated puritans, especially Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, to whom he dedicated some of his works.

Though Mr. Hieron was a minister of most eminent piety and usefulness; yet, during the greatest part of his last sickness, which continued about a month, his mind was under a cloud, and very uncomfortable. For the most part, he remained altogether silent, oftentimes not answering any question that was proposed to him, and sometimes he wept most bitterly. A brother minister addressing him, with a view to administer comfort to his troubled mind, he said, "There is a great mist betwixt me and the happiness I have looked after. I have judged partially of my own state, and thought better of myself than I deserved." He could not then be prevailed upon to speak any more.

About four days before he died, he began to revive and speak in a more comfortable strain, declaring his great peace and abundant consolation. To a friend who asked him how he did, he said, "A very weak man." When it was recommended that, though he was weak in body, he should labour to be strong in the spirit, he replied, "I thank God, I have laboured, and do labour, and I find my labour is not in vain. I have many things to speak that way, but now I want a tongue to utter them; yet something I must speak: I would not have it thought that my death is hopeless; for though I have lain all this time silent, as you have seen, yet my thoughts have been engaged about matters of great consequence; and now, I thank my God, my soul is full of comfort. I do verily believe I shall see the light of the Lord, in the land of the living. But what am I, or what is my father's house, that God should deal so graciously with my soul? He hath called me unto a state of grace; fitted me in my education for the ministry of the word; brought me in his appointed time to the practice thereof; given me some reputation in it; and blessed my labours in some measure unto his people. He hath not dealt thus with every one; no not of his own chosen. I speak not boastingly, but comfortably; not to extol myself, but to magnify the goodness of my God. I know whom I have professed, whom I have preached, whom I have believed, and now I see heaven open to receive me. I am freed from all care, except for my people. I wish, if God

\* MS. Account of Mr. Hieron.

were so pleased, that nothing I have taught them may prove the savour of death unto death to any of them. But my own sin hath been the cause that I have seen no more fruit of my labour in their conversion; yet, it may be, another may come after me, and, as the apostle says of himself, reap that which I have sown. I confess that, in public, I have been somewhat full in reproof, in admonition, in instruction; but in private my backwardness, my bashfulness, my dastardliness, hath been intolerable; and I may truly say, that if any thing lies as a burden on my conscience, it is this. But I praise my God, I know upon whose shoulders to cast it, with the rest of my transgressions." Many other things, in the same comfortable strain, he spoke previous to his departure. He died in the year 1618; for his funeral sermon was published that year, though it does not contain the least account of the deceased. It is entitled, "Hieron's last Farewell; a Sermon preached at Modbury in Devon, at the Funeral of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Christ, Master Samuel Hieron, sometimes preacher there, by J. B.," 1618.

Fuller, who has classed Mr. Hieron among the eminent men and learned writers of King's college, Cambridge, styles him "a powerful preacher in his printed works."\* The learned and pious Bishop Wilkins has given an honourable testimony of the excellency of his sermons.† His works, consisting of sermons and other pieces, were collected and published after his death, entitled, "The Works of Mr. Sam. Hieron, late Pastor of Modbury in Devon," in two volumes, folio, in 1624. A divine of the same name, who was ejected in 1662, was his grandson.‡

GEORGE GIFFORD, A. M.—This excellent divine was educated in Hart-hall, Oxford, where he continued some years. In the year 1582, he became vicar of Maldon in Essex.§ The Oxford historian denominates him "a very noted preacher, a man admirably well versed in the various branches of good literature, and a great enemy to popery."|| Mr. Strype says, "he was a great and diligent preacher, and much esteemed by many

\* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 75.

† Wilkins on Preaching, p. 83.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 38.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 398.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 387.



persons of rank. By his labours he brought the town to much more sobriety and knowledge of true religion.”\* Though he was a decided puritan, and scrupled conformity in various particulars, he wrote with great zeal against the Brownists, and in defence of the church. But all these things were mere trifles, so long as he did not admire the ceremonies, nor come up to the standard of conformity required by the prelates. Therefore, having preached the doctrine of limited obedience to the civil magistrate, complaints were brought against him, and he was immediately suspended and cast into prison. This was in the year 1584.

About the same time, this learned divine, and other ministers of Essex, to the number of twenty-seven, presented a supplication to the lords of the council, earnestly soliciting a redress of their grievances; though it does not appear with what degree of success.

The ministers who subscribed this supplication were highly celebrated for learning, piety, and usefulness, many of whom were already suspended for nonconformity. In the supplication they express themselves as follows: “We cheerfully and boldly offer this our humble suit unto your honours, being our only sanctuary upon earth, next to her majesty, to which we can repair in our present necessity: and most of all we are encouraged, when we consider how richly God hath adorned your honours with knowledge, wisdom, and zeal for the gospel, and with godly care and tender love to those who profess the same. Most humbly, therefore, we beseech your honours, with your accustomed favour in all godly and just causes, to hear and to judge of our matters. We have received the charge of her majesty’s loyal and faithful subjects, to instruct and teach our people in the way of life; and every one of us having this sounded from the God of heaven, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel*, we have all endeavoured to discharge our duties, and to approve ourselves both to God and men. Notwithstanding this, we are in great heaviness, and some of us already put to silence, and the rest living in fear; not that we have been, or can be charged, we hope, with false doctrine, or slanderous life; but because we refuse to subscribe ‘that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God.’ We do protest in the sight of God, who searcheth all hearts, that we do not refuse from a desire to dissent, or from any sinister affection;

but in the fear of God, and from the necessity of conscience. The apostle teacheth, that a person who doubteth is condemned if he eat. If a man then be condemned for doing a lawful action, because he doubts whether it be lawful; how much more should we incur the displeasure of the Lord, and justly deserve his wrath, if we should subscribe, being fully persuaded that there are some things in the book contrary to his word! If our reasons might be so answered by the doctrine of the Bible, and we could be persuaded that we might subscribe lawfully, and in the fear of God, we would willingly consent. In these and other respects we humbly crave your honourable protection, as those who from the heart do entirely love, honour, and obey her excellent majesty and your honours, in the Lord. Giving most hearty thanks to God for all the blessings we have received from him, by your government, constantly praying, night and day, that he will bless and preserve her majesty and your honours to eternal salvation. Your honours' poor and humble supplicants,

“GEORGE GIFFORD,  
RICHARD ROGERS,  
NICHOLAS COLPOTTS,  
LAWRANCE NEWMAN,  
WILLIAM DIKE,  
THOMAS CHAPLAIN,  
ARTHUR DENT,  
THOMAS REDRICH,  
GILES WHITING,  
RALPH HAWDEN,  
JEFFERY JESSELIN,  
THOMAS UPCHE,  
ROGER CARR,  
JOHN WILTON,

SAMUEL COTESFORD,  
RICHARD ILLISON,  
WILLIAM SERDGE,  
EDMUND BARKER,  
RICHARD BLACKWELL,  
THOMAS HOWELL,  
MARK WIRSDALE,  
ROBERT EDMONDS,  
AUGUSTINE PIGOT,  
CAMILLUS RUSTICUS,  
JOHN HUCKLE,  
THOMAS CAREW,  
JOHN BISHOP.”\*

When Mr. Gifford was brought to trial before the high commission, his enemies utterly failed in their evidence, and he was accordingly released. This, however, was not the end of his troubles. He did not long enjoy his liberty. Bishop Aylmer appointed spies to watch him, and fresh complaints were soon brought against him on account of his nonconformity; when he was again suspended and cast into prison.† Upon this he made application to the lord treasurer, who endeavoured to obtain the favour of the

\* MS. Register, p. 330.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 152.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 379.

archbishop; but his grace having consulted his brother of London, told the treasurer that he was a ringleader of the nonconformists; that he himself had received complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the high commission.\*

Mr. Gifford had many friends, and was much beloved by his numerous hearers. The parishioners of Maldon, therefore, presented a petition to the bishop, in behalf of their minister, signed by *fifty-two* persons, two of whom were bailiffs of the town, two justices of the peace, four aldermen, fifteen head burgesses, and other respectable people. In this petition, they shewed that his former accusations had been proved to be false; that the present charges were only the slanderous accusations of wicked men, who sought to injure his reputation and usefulness; that they themselves and a great part of the town had derived the greatest benefit from his ministry; that his doctrine was always sound and good; that in all his preaching and catechising he taught obedience to magistrates; that he used no conventicles; and that his life was modest, discreet, and unreprouable. For these reasons they earnestly entreated his grace to restore him to his ministry.† Indeed, the distresses of the people in Essex were at this time so great, that the inhabitants of Maldon and the surrounding country presented a petition to parliament for the removal of present grievances. In this petition, now before me, they complain, in most affecting language, that nearly all their learned and useful ministers were forbidden to preach, or deprived of their livings; and that ignorant and wicked ministers were put in their places.‡

These endeavours proved ineffectual. Mr. Gifford did not enjoy his liberty for several years, as appears from a supplication of several of the suspended ministers in Essex, presented to parliament, dated March 8, 1587, when he was still under the episcopal censure. It will be proper to give the substance of it in their own words: "In most humble and reverent duty to this high and honourable court of parliament, sundry of the ministers and preachers of God's holy word in the county of Essex, present this our earnest supplication, and lamentable complaint, beseeching you upon our knees for the Lord's sake, and the sake of his

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 152.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 111, 112.

‡ MS. Register, p. 748.



people, whose salvation it concerneth, to bow down a gracious ear to this our most dutiful suit, and to take such order as to your godly wisdom shall be thought most convenient. Your humble suppliants having, by the goodness of God, conducted themselves at all times, both in their doctrine and life, as becometh their vocation, they submit themselves to any trial and punishment, if it should be found otherwise. Notwithstanding this, they have been a long time, and still are, grievously troubled and molested; of which troubles this is one of the heaviest, that we are hindered from the service of God in our public ministry. To this restraint we have hitherto yielded and kept silence.

“ We hoped, from the equity of our cause, the means that have been used, and the necessities of our people, that our suspension would have been taken off by those whose censure lieth upon us: but they neither restored us to our ministry, nor furnished the people with suitable persons to supply our places. We and our people have been humble suitors to them, desiring that we might be restored to our former service and usefulness among them; and, notwithstanding our cause hath been recommended to them by some of the chief nobility in the land, even of her majesty’s honourable privy council, we have obtained no relief for ourselves, nor comfort for our distressed people. Therefore, to appear before this high and honourable court of parliament, is the only means left unto us; that if there be in us no desert of so heavy a sentence, it may please this high court to take such order for the relief of your most humble suppliants as to your godly wisdom shall be thought convenient.

“ We, indeed, acknowledge that divers causes of our restraint are alleged against us; but our earnest desire is, that this high court would by some means be informed of this weighty matter. The chief of them is our refusing to subscribe to certain articles relating to the present policy of the church, that every word and ceremony appointed to be read and used in the Book of Common Prayer, is according to the word of God. We declared that we could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to all that was required of us; and we humbly requested to have our doubts removed, and to be satisfied in the things required; but we have not received one word of answer to this day; and their former rigorous proceedings have not in the least been mitigated.

“ We humbly pray this high court to be assured of our dutiful obedience to all lawful authority, unto which, as

the ordinance of God, and for conscience sake, with all our hearts, we promise and protest our submission. We seek unto you to obtain some relief for us. And we commit our lives and whole estate to Almighty God, to your gracious clemency, and to the care of her right excellent majesty, ceasing not, day and night, to pray that the blessings of grace and glory may rest upon you for ever.”\*

This supplication was signed by Messrs. George Gifford, Ralph Hawden, William Tunstall, John Huckle, Giles Whiting, and Roger Carr; but whether it proved of any advantage, is extremely doubtful. Most probably they continued much longer under suspension. Mr. Gifford subscribed the “Book of Discipline.”† He lived to a good old age, and died about the year 1620.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Country Divinity, containing a Discourse of certain points of Religion among the Common sort of Christians, with a plain Confutation thereof, 1581.—2. A Sermon on the Parable of the Sower, 1581.—3. A Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant, applied to the capacity of the Unlearned, 1583.—4. Against the Priesthood and sacrifice of the Church of Rome, wherein you may perceive their Impiety in usurping that Office and Action which ever appertaineth to Christ only, 1584.—5. A Sermon on 2 Pet. i. 11., 1584.—6. A Catechism, giving a most excellent light to those that seek to enter the Path-way to Salvation, 1586.—7. A Sermon on Jam. ii. 14—26., 1586.—8. A Discourse of the subtile Practices of Devils by Witches and Sorcerers, 1587.—9. Sermons on the first four Chapters and part of the fifth Chapter of Ecclesiastes, 1589.—10. A short Treatise against the Donatists of England, whom we call Brownists, wherein, by Answer unto their Writings, their Heresies are noted, 1590.—11. A Plain Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists, by comparing them together from point to point out of the Writings of Augustin, 1591.—12. A Reply to Mr. Joh. Greenwood and Hen. Barrow, touching read Prayer, wherein their gross Ignorance is detected, 1591.—13. A Sermon at Paul’s Cross, on Psalm cxxxiii., 1591.—14. A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts; in which is laid open how craftily the Devil deceiveth not only the Witches, but others, 1593.—15. A Treatise of true Fortitude, 1594.—16. A Commentary or Sermons on the whole Book of Revelations, 1596.—17. Two Sermons on 1 Pet. v. 8, 9., 1598.—18. Four Sermons upon several parts of Scripture, 1598.—19. An Exposition on the Canticles, 1612.—20. Five Sermons on the Song of Solomon, 1620.—21. An English Translation of Dr. Fulke’s Prelections on the Holy Revelations.

\* MS. Register, p. 818—820.

† Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 429.

**JEREMIAH DYKE, A. M.** was younger brother to the celebrated Mr. Daniel Dyke, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge. He was beneficed at Epping in Essex, where he entered upon his pastoral charge, in the year 1609.\* He was a person of a cheerful spirit, richly furnished with divine grace, and eminently useful in his ministry. He was a divine of great peace and moderation, and is said to have been no zealot for the ceremonies, but to have quietly submitted to the use of them. This he certainly did, for the sake of peace, so far as he could do it with a good conscience. But he was a thorough puritan, and disaffected to the ceremonies. He died a pious death, says our author, in the year 1620, when his remains were interred in his own church.† A minister of the same name became vicar of Stansted-Abbots in Middlesex, in 1640; but resigned it previous to April 23, 1644; and he became rector of Great Parndon in Essex, in 1645. But if the above account of Mr. Dyke's death be correct, this must have been another person.‡ Mr. Dyke published the posthumous works of his brother, and was himself author of several excellent books. He is classed among the learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge;§ and a high encomium is passed upon his sermons.|| He was author of a work on the Lord's supper, entitled, "The Worthy Communicant." Mr. Daniel Dyke, the silenced nonconformist, in 1662, was his son.¶

**THOMAS HELWISSE.**—This zealous puritan was a man possessed of good natural parts, and some acquired endowments, though it does not appear whether he received any university education. He was a member of the ancient church of separatists, founded in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and was peculiarly serviceable to those people when, to escape the oppressions of the times, they fled to Holland. There he was esteemed a man of eminent faith and charity, possessing excellent spiritual gifts. When Mr. John Smyth raised the controversy about baptism, Mr. Helwisse became one of his disciples, received baptism from him by immersion, and is said to have been excommu-

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 248.

† Fuller's Worthies, part. ii. p. 29.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 890. ii. p. 462.

§ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 154.

|| Wilkins's Discourse on Preaching, p. 82.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 304.



nicated by the contrary party. He was one of the first in the constitution of the church to which Mr. Smyth was chosen pastor; and, upon Mr. Smyth's death, he was chosen to the pastoral office. Though he did not go forwards with an equal degree of comfort and success as Mr. Smyth had done, it was acknowledged that his preaching and writings promoted the cause he espoused.

The chief opposers of Mr. Helwisse and his church, according to Crosby, were the Brownists, from whom they had separated. These persons, having incorrect notions of religious liberty, wrote against them with too much warmth, calling them heretics, anabaptists, &c.; yet made several concessions in their favour, clearing them of those extravagant opinions which distinguished the old anabaptists. They acknowledged, that Mr. Helwisse and his people disclaimed the doctrine of free-will; that, though they excluded infants from baptism, they believed in infant *salvation*; and that they even agreed with their opponents in the great truths of the gospel. And with respect to their morals, as our author adds, they confessed that they had attained to some degree of knowledge and godliness; that they had a zeal of God, though, in their opinion, not according to knowledge; and that when they found any person of their communion guilty of sin, they proceeded to censure him. People of whom these things could, with truth, be said, ought not to have received any unkind usage from their brethren, though they differed from them about baptism, or some other subordinate points. It is extremely probable, however, there was fault on both sides; and if each party had been less influenced by a spirit of intolerance, and more by a spirit of forbearance, their history would have appeared no less honourable in the eye of a discerning posterity.

Upon Mr. Smyth's death, Mr. Helwisse and his people published a confession of their faith, entitled, "A Declaration of Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland."\* Mr. John Robinson, pastor to the English church at Leyden, published some remarks upon it. About the same time, Mr. Helwisse began to reflect upon himself and his brethren for deserting their country on account of persecution. He resolved, therefore, to return home, that he might share the same lot with that of his brethren who had continued to endure the storm. Being

\* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. ii. Appen. p. 1—9.

accompanied by the greater part of his congregation, he returned to England, and settled in London, where they gained many proselytes, and became, as it is conjectured, the first GENERAL BAPTIST society in England. However, to justify their conduct in returning home, Mr. Helwisse published "A Short Declaration," in which he stated in what cases it was lawful to flee in times of persecution. To this, also, Mr. Robinson published a reply.

In the year 1615, Mr. Helwisse and his church in London, published a treatise, entitled, "Persecution for Religion, Judged and Condemned." Though there was no name prefixed to it, they were certainly its authors.\* In this work, besides defending their own opinions as baptists, and attempting to clear themselves of several false charges, they endeavour to expose the evil of persecution. They maintain, that every man has an equal right to judge for himself in all matters of religion; and that to persecute any person, on account of his religion, is illegal, and anti-christian. They acknowledge that civil magistrates are of divine appointment; and that kings, and such as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all *civil* matters. But that against which they chiefly protest, is the pride, luxury, and oppression of the lordly bishops, and their pretended spiritual power, by which many were exposed to confiscation of goods, long and painful imprisonment, hungering, burning, and banishment. "It is no small persecution," say they, "to lie many years in filthy prisons, in hunger, cold, idleness, divided from wife, family and calling, and left in continual miseries and temptations: so that death to many would be less persecution.+ How many, only for seeking reformation in religion, have been put to death by your power (meaning the bishops) in the days of Queen Elizabeth? And how many have been consumed to death in prisons? Hath not hungering, burning, exile, imprisonments, and all kinds of contempt been used? It is most grievous cruelty to lie several years in most noisome and

\* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 269—273.

+ Bishop Warburton's opinion of persecution is very singular. "The exacting conformity of the ministry by the governors of the church," says he, "is no persecution." This is certainly a strange sentiment to come from the pen of a protestant prelate. Admitting this principle, there was no persecution in the reign of Queen Mary. It was no persecution, when the Jewish sanhedrim agreed, "That if any man did confess that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." It was no persecution, when the parliament imposed the Scot's covenant.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. i. p. 319.

filthy prisons, and continual temptations, being ruined in their estates, and many of them never coming out till death.”\*

This was a bold protestation against the illegal and iniquitous proceedings of the ruling prelates, and a noble stand in defence of religious liberty. For making the above generous principles the foundation of their practice, they were grievously harassed in the ecclesiastical courts; when their goods were seized, and they were many years confined in loathsome jails, being deprived of their wives, children and friends, till the Lord was pleased to release some of them by death. Mr. Helwisse had his share in these barbarous oppressions. Being a leading person among the nonconformists of the baptist persuasion, he felt the inhuman cruelties of the spiritual rulers, but went forwards, as he had opportunity, with courage and success. He died most probably about the year 1620.†

**THOMAS WILSON.**—This learned and pious divine was many years minister of St. George’s church, Canterbury, one of the six preachers in that city, chaplain to Lord Wotton, and a man of high reputation. He was a person deservedly famous in his time, preaching regularly three times, and occasionally every day, in the week. He was a hard student, endowed with a healthy constitution and a strong memory. As his gifts were more than ordinary, so were his trials. He had to contend with open enemies, false teachers, and notorious heretics, against whom he boldly defended the truth, detecting and refuting their errors. He was troubled with certain false brethren, who secretly endeavoured to promote his ruin; but the Lord delivered him out of their hands. He was once complained of to Archbishop Abbot, for nonconformity; but, through the kind interference and endeavours of Lord Wotton, he escaped the snare. He used to say, “That so long as idolatry is publicly tolerated in the land, public judgments will not cease.” His great concern for the welfare of his flock was manifest by his frequent preaching, expounding, and catechising, for a great number of years. Nor was he unmindful of them on his death-bed. With his dying breath, he charged Dr. Jackson, his chief patron, as he would answer the same at the bar of God, that he would

\* Crosby’s Baptists, vol. i. p. 126, 127.

† Ibid. p. 273—276.



provide for them an able and a sufficient pastor. This the doctor promised to do; but added, "that not one of a thousand could be found, like this worthy servant of Christ."\*

Mr. Swift, who preached Mr. Wilson's funeral sermon, gives the following account of him: "He was a most painful and careful pastor; a man called forth into the vineyard of the Lord, and well qualified for so great a work. He was a judicious divine, sound in the truth, and an excellent interpreter of scripture; a professed enemy to idolatry, superstition, and all false worship; for which he incurred the displeasure of those who were otherwise disposed. He was richly furnished with excellent gifts, which he fully employed in the Lord's work, being incessantly laborious and faithful in his public ministry. Having received ten talents, he employed them all to the use of his Master. He preached at Canterbury thirty-six years, during the whole of which period he was always abounding in the work of the Lord. Being requested, upon his death-bed, to spare himself in future, if the Lord should be pleased to raise him up, he immediately replied, 'Were I in health of body, I should always say with the apostle, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel.*' He was particularly mindful of his flock to the last; and with his dying breath prayed that God would provide for them a faithful shepherd, to feed them with knowledge and understanding."† He died in January, 1621.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Commentary on Romans, 1614.‡—2. Christ's Farewell to Jerusalem, 1614.—3. Theological Rules, 1615.—4. Holy Riddles, 1615.—5. A Complete Christian Dictionary, with the Continuation by Bagwell and Symson, sixth edition, 1655.§—6. A Dialogue about Justification.—7. A Receipt against Heresie.

\* Christian Dictionary, Pref. Edit. 1655.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Wilson.

‡ This work, which is in the form of a dialogue, abounds with judicious distinctions, and practical uses.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 436.

§ This work is said to have been the first that was ever composed in English, by way of concordance.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 369.

ANDREW WILLET, D. D.—This learned and laborious divine was born in the city of Ely, in the year 1562, and educated first in Peter-house, then in Christ's college, Cambridge. He was blessed with pious parents, who brought him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His father, Mr. Thomas Willet, was sub-almoner to King Edward VI., and a painful sufferer during the cruel persecutions of Queen Mary. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he became rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, and was preferred to a prebend in the church of Ely. His son Andrew, while a boy at school, discovered an uncommon genius, and made extraordinary progress in the various rudiments of knowledge. He was so intense in his application, that his parents were obliged to use various methods to divert his attention from his books. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to the university, where he was soon preferred to a fellowship. Here he became intimate with Downham, Perkins, and other celebrated puritans, who encouraged each other in their studies. Willet soon distinguished himself by his exact acquaintance with the languages, the arts, and all the branches of useful literature. He was concerned not to have these things to learn, when he came forth to teach others; wisely judging that youth should prepare that which riper years must use. Among the anecdotes related of him while at Cambridge, shewing the promising greatness of his abilities, is the following:—"The proctor of the college being prevented, by some unforeseen occurrence, from executing his office at the commencement, just at hand, none could be found to take his place excepting Willet, who acquitted himself so well, that his orations gained him the approbation and applause of the university, and the high admiration of all who knew how short a time he had for preparation."\* In the year 1586, he united with the master and fellows of Christ's college, in defence of themselves against the accusations of their enemies, in which they acquitted themselves with great honour.†

Having spent thirteen years at the university, he came forth richly fraught with wisdom and knowledge. On the death of his father, the queen presented him to the rectory of Barley, and gave him his father's prebend in the church

\* Barksdale's Remembrancer, p. 53—58.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 79.

of Ely. He entered upon his charge at Barley, January 29, 1598.\* Though he is said to have sought no other preferment, one of his name became rector of Reed in Middlesex, in the year 1613; and rector of Chishall-Parva in Essex, in 1620.† We cannot, however, learn whether this was the same person. He studied to *deserve* preferments, rather than to *obtain* them. His own observation was, that some *enjoy* promotions, while others *merit* them. He always abounded in the work of the Lord, and accounted the work in which he was engaged as part of his wages. About the time that he entered the ministerial work, he married a near relation to Dr. Goad, by whom he had *eleven* sons and *seven* daughters.

Dr. Willet was a man of uncommon reading, having digested the fathers, councils, ecclesiastical histories, the civil and canon law, and numerous writers of almost all descriptions. Indeed, he read so much, and understood and retained what he had read so well, that he was denominated *a living library*. To secure this high attainment, he was extremely provident of his time. He constantly rose at a very early hour, by which means he is said to have got half way on his journey before others set out. He was laborious in the numerous duties of his ministry; and he greatly lamented the condition of those who sat under idle and ignorant ministers. He also often lamented the state of the prelates of those times, who, after obtaining rich livings, though they were men of talents and learning, would not stoop to labour for the welfare of souls. But he, as a faithful steward of Christ, constantly preached three times a week, and catechised both old and young throughout his parish. And though he was a man of most profound learning, had been some time chaplain to Prince Henry, and had frequently preached at court, his sermons and catechetical instructions were dressed in so plain and familiar a style, that persons of the weakest capacity might easily understand him.‡ He esteemed those the best discourses which were best adapted to the condition of the people, and most owned of God: not those which were most decorated with human ornaments, and most admired among men. Though he could administer all needful reproof and warning to the careless and the obstinate; yet his great talent was to bind up the broken-hearted, and comfort the weary, fainting pilgrim.

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 800. † Ibid. p. 862. ii. p. 151.

‡ Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 569.



His external deportment, at home and abroad, was such as became his profession. He *lived*, as well as *preached*, the gospel. His house was the model of a little church and house of God; where morning and evening sacrifices were daily offered unto God. He had laws and ordinances set up in his house, directing all the members of his numerous family to the observance of their respective duties; and he was a pattern to them all in all things. His humility and benevolence were two of the brightest jewels in his crown. Though he had a numerous family of children, he did not consider that a sufficient reason for abridging his constant and extensive liberality. On the contrary, he was of the same mind as one of the fathers, who said, "The more children, the more charity." And it is said of Dr. Willet, that his substance increased with his liberality.\* Many poor ministers tasted the sweetness of his bounty.

Dr. Willet obtained a great degree of celebrity by the numerous and valuable productions of his pen. One of his voluminous publications appeared in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, entitled, "Synopsis Papismi; or, a general View of Papistrie." This work, which was dedicated to the queen, contains upwards of thirteen hundred pages in folio. It is perhaps the best refutation of popery that ever was published. In this work, says Mr. Toplady, no less than *fifteen hundred* errors and heresies are charged against the church of Rome, and most ably refuted. It passed through five editions; and was highly approved by many of the bishops; held in great esteem by the two universities; and very much admired, both by the clergy and laity, throughout the kingdom. The author, it is incorrectly added, was most zealously attached to the church of England, and not a grain of puritanism mingled itself with his conformity.†

This celebrated divine continued his numerous and painful labours to the last. He used to say, "As it is most honourable for a soldier to die fighting, and for a bishop or pastor praying; so, if my merciful God will vouchsafe to grant me my request, I desire that I may finish my days in writing and commenting on some part of scripture."

\* Dr. Willet's mother was a person who abounded in acts of charity. When her children were gone from her, and settled in life, she used to feed her poor neighbours, saying, "Now I have my children about me again."—*Barkdale's Remembrancer*, p. 55, 64, 65.

† Toplady's *Historic Proof*, vol. ii. p. 191, 192, 305.

Herein God gave him the desire of his heart. He was called to his father's house, as he was composing his "Commentary on Leviticus." Though he did not desire, as good Archbishop Leighton did, that he might die at an inn, the unerring providence of God had appointed that he should. The occasion of his death was a fall from his horse, as he was riding homewards from London, by which he broke his leg, and was detained at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, incapable of being removed. On the tenth day after his fall, having supped cheerfully the preceding evening, and rested well during the greatest part of the night, he awoke in the morning by the tolling of a bell, when he entered into sweet conversation with his wife about the joys of heaven. After singing with melody in their hearts to the Lord, and unitedly presenting their supplications to God, he turned himself in bed, and giving a deep groan, he fell into a swoon. His wife, being alarmed, immediately called in assistance; and upon the application of suitable means, he recovered a little, and raised himself up in bed, but immediately said, "Let me alone. I shall be well, Lord Jesus;" and then resigned his happy soul to God, December 4, 1621, aged fifty-eight years.\* His funeral was attended by a great number of knights, gentlemen, and ministers, who, having esteemed and honoured him in life, testified their respect to his memory when dead. Though he wrote against the unmeaning and superstitious practice of bowing at the name of Jesus,† and was a sufferer in the cause of nonconformity;‡ yet, being so excellent a man, so peaceable in his behaviour, and so moderate in his principles, he was enabled to keep his benefice to the day of his death. "He was a person," says Fuller, "of a sound judgment, admirable industry, a pious life, and bountiful above his ability."§ He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.|| Mr. Strype denominates him "a learned and zealous puritan."¶

Dr. Willet's remains were interred in the chancel of Barley church, where there is a representation of him at full length, in a praying attitude; and underneath is a

\* Fuller's Abel Red. p. 575.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 139.

§ Church Hist. b. x. p. 91.—Worthies, part i. p. 158.

|| Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

¶ Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 441, 490.

monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation :\*

Here lies  
ANDREW WILLET, D. D.  
once Minister of this Church,  
and a great ornament of the Church in general.  
He died  
December 4, 1621, in the 59th  
year of his age.

Reader, admire ! within this tomb there lies  
Willet, though dead, still living with the wise ;  
Seek you his house :—his polished works peruse,  
Each valu'd page the living Willet shews :  
All that of him was mortal rests below,  
Nor can you tearless from the relics go.

Subjoined to the Latin inscription are the following lines in English :

Thou that erewhile didst such strong reasons frame,  
As yet, great Willet, are the popelings shame ;  
Now by thy sickness thy death hast made,  
Strong arguments to prove that man's a shade.  
Thy life did shew thy deep divinity,  
Death only taught us thy humanity.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Synopsis Papismi, 1600.—2. Thesaurus Ecclesiæ, 1604.—3. De Gratia Generi Humano in primo Parente collata, de Lapsu Adami, Peccato Originali, 1609.—4. Hexapla upon Daniel, 1610.†—5. Hexapla upon Romans, 1611.—6. Hexapla upon Leviticus, 1631.—7. Hexapla upon Genesis, 1632.—8. Hexapla upon Exodus, 1632.—9. De animæ natura et viribus.—10. Sacra Emblemata.—11. De universali Vocatione Judæorum.—12. De Conciliis.—13. De universali Gratia.—14. De Antichristo.—15. Epithalamium.—16. Funebres Consciones.—17. Apologiæ serenissimi Regio Jac. Defensio.—18. Harmony of the First and Second Book of Samuel.—19. Hexapla upon the Twenty-second Psalm.—20. Upon the Seventeenth of John.—21. Upon the Epistle of Jude.—22. Tetrastylon Papismi.—23. A Catalogue of Good Works.—24. Limbomastix.—25. Funeral Sermons.—26. A Catechism.—27. A Prelection.—28. An Antilogy.—29. Epithalamium in English.—He left an immense quantity of manuscripts behind him.

\* Theological and Biblical Magazine, vol. vii. p. 333.

† This work affords much information, as it contains the opinions of many authors on each point of difficulty.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 433.



STEPHEN EGERTON, A. M.—This excellent divine was incorporated in both universities, and afterwards for many years the learned, zealous, and faithful minister of Blackfriars, London. He was a thorough nonconformist, a zealous promoter of a further reformation of the church, and an avowed advocate for the presbyterian discipline. He was a member of the presbytery erected at Wandsworth in Surrey, and frequently united with his brethren in their associations, when he was commonly chosen to the office of moderator.

In the year 1584, he and Mr. John Field were suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. After receiving the censure of this tyrannical prelate, they assigned their reasons for not subscribing to the second article, viz. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Ordination, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God."—"We cannot subscribe to this article," say they, "because the book alloweth a mere reading and insufficient ministry; and, what is still more intolerable, it containeth many things tending to harden obstinate papists, and to encourage ignorance and superstition among the common people. All this is apparent, seeing most of the things contained in the book are translated out of the popish portuis, with little or no alteration. We cannot consent that certain parts of the apocrypha should be used in public worship, and some parts of scripture omitted. In the burial of the dead, every wicked man must be committed to the ground in *sure* and *certain* hope of the resurrection to *eternal* life. The book maketh confirmation, the cross in baptism, and matrimony, to be sacraments. In one of the collects, it is said, 'Give us those things which we dare not ask.' The book maintaineth the offices of archbishops, bishops, &c. as being different from that of ministers." In addition to these, they assign many other reasons.\*

It does not appear how long Mr. Egerton remained under the above ecclesiastical censure. We find, however, that about this time he united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† In the year 1590, during the imprisonment of Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood, our pious divine and other puritan ministers were sent by the Bishop of London to confer with them. Though he was deemed unworthy of the public ministry, the persecuting

\* MS. Register, p. 460—463.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

prelates accounted him sufficiently qualified to hold a conference with those whom they stigmatized schismatics and heretics. Mr. Egerton exchanged several letters with the suffering prisoners, one of which was dated April 14, 1590. The rest were written about the same time.\* In this year he was still under suspension; having suffered the cruel censure, no doubt, for the space of six years. Nor was this all. For, during the same year, he was summoned, with many of his brethren, before the high commission, and committed to the Fleet, where for several years he suffered the extremity of the prison. An account of these barbarous proceedings is given in another place.†

Mr. Egerton, having at length obtained his release, became minister of Blackfriars in the year 1598, where he continued many years.‡ The celebrated Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, in a letter which he wrote during this year, denominates him "a man of great learning and godliness."§ Upon the accession of King James, numerous petitions were presented to his majesty for a further reformation of the church. In the year 1603, when that which was called "The Millenary Petition," subscribed by upwards of a thousand ministers, was presented to the king and parliament, none were deemed so well qualified to undertake this business as Mr. Egerton and Mr. Hildersham, with some other eminent divines.|| Mr. Egerton died about the year 1621, and was succeeded at Blackfriars by the famous Dr. William Gouge, who appears to have been for some time his assistant. These two eminently faithful servants of Christ spent about seventy years in their ministerial labours at Blackfriars.¶

HIS WORKS.—1. A Lecture on Gen. xii. 17—20., 1589.—2. A brief Method of Catechizing, 1594.—3. The Doctrine of Subjection to God and the King, 1616.—4. The Boring of the Ear, 1623.—5. Comforts to strengthen the Weak in Faith, 1630.—6. A Description of Uncomeliness.—He published an enlarged edition of Mr. Paul Baines's "Help to True Happiness;" and wrote an Epistle to Mr. Richard Rogers's "Seven Treatises," 1604.

\* MS. Remarks, p. 425.

† See Art. Cartwright.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 915.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3259. Edit. 1747.

|| Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 7.

¶ Jenkins on Jude, Pref.

THOMAS PAGET was a zealous and worthy minister in the diocese of Chester, but much persecuted for nonconformity. Through the severity of the times, when he could no longer enjoy the blessing of religious liberty in his own country, he sought refuge in a foreign land; and, to escape the persecuting fury of the prelates, retired to Holland as a place of safety. He had been many years employed in the ministry, in the above diocese, when Dr. Thomas Morton became Bishop of Chester. This learned prelate was no sooner comfortably seated in the episcopal chair, than he began to prosecute the nonconformists within his jurisdiction, and sent forth letters missive, summoning them to appear before the high commission. Among those who were cited was Mr. Paget. This was no sooner known in the country than many of the most worthy knights and gentlemen in the diocese took the matter into serious consideration, espoused the cause of the distressed ministers, and wrote a very appropriate letter to the bishop; in which they expressed themselves as follows:

“Right Reverend, &c. Whereas we understand that divers of our painful and discreet ministers are lately, by letters missive from your lordship and others of his majesty’s high commission for causes ecclesiastical within the diocese of Chester, enjoined to appear before you, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against them. We, whose names are subscribed, have thought fit to acquaint your lordship with our opinion of those ministers, for the preventing, if need require, of such sinister and malicious informations; which, in these cases, are frequently stirred up against men of their sort and quality; sometimes by lewd and profane persons; and many times by the disguised, subtil, and superstitious Romanists and church-papists, whose hearts are wholly against us, all the while their faces are seemingly for us. We have observed, so far as we are able to judge, in these our ministers, integrity of life and conversation, orthodox soundness of doctrine, diligence and painfulness in their places, sobriety and peaceableness in their dispositions, and freedom from faction. Also, as the great good and profit which our congregations where they live have abundantly received from their ministry; therefore we are emboldened to entreat your favour, &c.”\*

This letter was delivered to his lordship at Stockport; who, after reading it, said, “They whom the letter con-



cerneth are the worse to be liked, for the good testimony here given of them." Mr. Paget was one of the ministers in whose behalf the letter was written, and being present at the reading of it, the bishop immediately required his arguments against the use of the cross in baptism; that, as he then boasted, he might instantly discover their weakness and folly in refusing to conform. Mr. Paget and his brethren at first declined all disputation, partly because their errand was not to dispute, but to obtain their release from the high commission; and because the bishop was to be the sole judge; so that they might bring themselves into danger. However, the bishop continuing to urge them in the presence of many persons of quality, lest they should seem to betray a good cause by total silence, Mr. Paget at length entered upon a disputation with his lordship; who, in the conclusion, ingenuously acknowledged his own neglect to study the controversy, but resolved in future to direct his attention more that way. And, besides releasing them from the high commission, he frankly owned, that he found in them more learning than he expected. But, in order to bring them to conformity, he commanded each of them to produce in writing, three arguments against the cross in baptism, the use of the surplice, and kneeling at the Lord's supper, and bring them to him in the space of a month. His order was accordingly obeyed; but it failed of the success which his lordship expected.

Soon after, several of the ministers were again cited into the high commission court, and used with great cruelty. Mr. Paget himself met with much unkind treatment, and was under the necessity of making three journies of sixty miles each, within the space of fourteen days, the bishop and other commissioners still deferring the consideration of his case to a future court-day. The bishop's officers treated him with much vile and abusive language, attended with blasphemous cursing and swearing, declaring he should assuredly be damned. On a day appointed, the good man again appeared before the commission at Chester; when the bishop expostulated with him a full hour, concerning the observance of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and signified that his own remissness in prosecuting the nonconformists, had hindered his preferment to the bishopric of Lincoln. In the conclusion, his lordship being in a violent passion, threatened to suspend, excommunicate, and degrade him; and to make the land too hot for him; and asked him what he would then do. Mr. Paget meekly replied, in the words of

the prophet: "I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation. My God will hear me." The bishop immediately retorted, saying, "God will not hear a blasphemer: a blasphemer of his mother the church of England, and one who despiseth her ordinances." Mr. Paget then replied, "I desire to fear God and abhor blasphemy; and my refusal of conformity to superstitious ceremonies, which even by the prelates themselves are esteemed indifferent, is neither blasphemy nor contempt." The angry prelate at length dismissed him without any censure, but ordered him to pay large fees to the officers of the court.\*

In the year 1618, Morton being translated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr. Bridgman became his successor at Chester. The latter prelate did not, at first, manifest any great opposition against the nonconformists, except by suspending a few of them, together with Knutsford chapel.† Afterwards, however, the bishop took courage, and inhibited most of the puritans in his diocese. Mr. Paget, among the rest, was convened before him, when the good old man humbly desired his lordship's connivance; which he denied, lest, as he observed, he should lose the favour of his prince. And when he required Mr. Paget to assign his reasons for refusing to kneel at the sacrament, he cited the words of our Lord: "Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." These words, he observed, might be justly applied to the imposition of kneeling at the Lord's supper. The bishop then signified, that he expected a more learned argument, and supposed that Mr. Paget would have insisted upon the posture used

\* This learned prelate, writing of these times, says, "The nonconformists have suffered what is next to death; and too many have suffered unto death in prisons. Imposers," he justly adds, "should not esteem any thing a just cause of bringing any under the censures of silencing of preachers from preaching, for which they may not adventure to take away their lives." Dr. Morton was a bishop forty years; and during that long period, it is said, there was not his superior in the church, for temperance, industry, and piety. He constantly rose at four o'clock in the morning to his studies, when he was eighty years of age; usually lay upon a straw bed; and, through the whole course of his life, seldom exceeded one meal a day.—*Nonconformist's Plea*, p. 14. Edit. 1681.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 155.

† The curious occasion of the bishop's suspending this chapel, was the following: "A gentleman of Knutsford, being fond of sport, caused a bear, passing along the streets, to be led into the chapel. The bishop no sooner heard of the chapel being thus profaned by the bear, than he suspended it from being used for public worship, and it remained a long time under his lordship's ecclesiastical censure. This was episcopal superstition in perfection!—*Paget's Defence*, Pref.

by Christ and his disciples, at the institution of the ordinance. And, to convince Mr. Paget how unseemly that posture would now be in the church, his lordship gravely laid himself upon a bench by the side of a table, leaning on his elbow, affirming that to have been the posture of Christ at the institution of the supper; which, said he, you cannot contradict, especially if you understand Greek. Mr. Paget replied, that whatever was his knowledge of Greek, doubtless the translators of the New Testament were skilful in that language, and they had rendered it *sitting*. Also, he further observed, that Dr. Morton, his lordship's predecessor, notwithstanding the stir he made about the translation, confessed it was a *kind of sitting*. However, to close the business, Mr. Paget, together with many others, was suspended from the ministry, and remained under his lordship's censure about two years.

In the year 1621, when it was hoped the storm was abated, means were used to obtain his liberty, but without effect. Afterwards, written testimonies were procured from York, signed by the register of the high commission court, in behalf of Mr. Paget and two other ministers in Cheshire, releasing them from suspension, and allowing them to go on in their ministerial work as usual. But within three months, without any previous warning, attachments were issued from the high commission to apprehend them, and bring them to York; when they were ordered to be cast into prison till they could give satisfaction to the court. In these painful circumstances, obtaining information of the approaching storm, and having already too much felt the cruel oppressions of that court, they withdrew, as did the prophet to escape the fury of Ahab. When they could not be found, heavy fines were laid upon them; and, for their non-appearance, their fines were aggravated from one court-day to another; till at length their case was returned into the exchequer. In the end, having suffered great poverty, and many other troubles, they were obliged to compound. But upon no consideration could they obtain their liberty to preach. Therefore, Mr. Paget forsook his native country, and went to Holland, where he most probably spent the remainder of his days. He wrote the preface to Mr. John Paget's "Defence of Church Government," 1641, whence the above account is collected. But whether they were at all related, we have not been able to learn.



MR. KNIGHT was of Pembroke college, Oxford, and one of the preachers to the university. He was a divine of good learning, great moderation, and genuine puritan principles. Having delivered a sermon on the Lord's day, April 15, 1622, before the university, from 2 Kings, xix. 9., he advanced this position, "That subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the commonwealth, and the true religion, in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following: 1. When the chief magistrate turns a tyrant. 2. When he forces his subjects to blasphemy or idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burdens or pressures are laid upon them. And, 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their consciences."\* For this proposition in the sermon, Bishop Laud denominates it "a treasonable sermon."† The preacher was, therefore, sent for to court, and asked what authority he had for his assertion. He answered, that it was the opinion of Paræus on Rom. xiii.; but that his principal authority was King James himself, who was then affording assistance to the oppressed Rochellers against their prince. Upon this bold and unexpected answer, Mr. Knight was immediately committed to the Gatehouse; Paræus's‡ Commentary was ordered to be burnt at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paul's cross, London; his assertions were condemned as false and seditious; and the university of Oxford, in full convocation, made the following decrees: "That it is not lawful to resist the sovereign by force of arms, either offensively or defensively, upon any pretence whatsoever: that all doctors, masters of arts, &c. within the university, shall subscribe to these decrees and censures: and that whosoever shall hereafter take any degree, shall first acknowledge the truth and justice of these censures by subscription to the same; and shall take his oath, that he doth from his heart not only condemn the said doctrine of Paræus, but that he will neither preach, teach, nor maintain the same, or any of them, at any time in future."§ Thus all the graduates in this

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 126.

† Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 3.

‡ Paræus was highly celebrated for true christian piety, a most learned professor of divinity at Heidelberg, and rector of the university at that place. He was an admirable writer, a celebrated divine, and appointed by the elector palatine to attend the synod of Dort; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he desired to be excused.—*Fuller's Abel Redivivus*, p. 579, 580.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 697. (26.)

university were bound down as slaves to their tyrannical oppressors, and required to swear, that they would never change their opinions. Was ever any thing more unreasonable? Yet such was the tyranny and barbarity of the times! But how long Mr. Knight remained in the Gatehouse, or what other punishment was inflicted upon him, we have not been able to learn.

**JOHN RANDALL, B. D.**—This zealous minister of Christ was born at Missenden in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1568, and educated first in St. Mary's-hall, then in Trinity college, Oxford, and afterwards elected fellow of Lincoln college. Having entered upon the ministry, he became one of the most noted preachers in the university. In the year 1598, he removed from Oxford, and became rector of St. Andrews, Little Eastcheap, London. In this situation he continued to the end of his days; and by his constant preaching, resolving cases of conscience, and his other ministerial exercises, he went beyond most of his brethren, to the admiration of all who knew him. Though he was uncommonly laborious in the Lord's 'vineyard, he was mostly exercised with very painful bodily affliction. His learning and piety were unreservedly devoted to public usefulness. It does not, however, appear whether Mr. Randall was ever prosecuted for his nonconformity. He was accounted a zealous and innocent puritan, a judicious and orthodox divine, a harmless and holy man, and one wholly devoted to usefulness in the church of Christ. By his constant and faithful labours, true religion was greatly promoted, many were reclaimed from the ways of ungodliness, and others established in the truth. He died in the beginning of June, 1622, aged fifty-four years; and his remains were interred in his own church.\* Mr. Randall was tutor to the famous Mr. Robert Bolton.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Several Sermons, 1623.—2. The Great Mystery of Godliness, 1624.—3. A Treatise concerning the Sacraments, 1630.—4. Catechistical Lectures, 1630.—5. Lectures of the Church, 1631.

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 399, 400.—Newcourt's *Repert. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 265.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD.—This pious and learned divine was born in Warwickshire, in the year 1579, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. He was son to Mr. Richard Byfield, who became minister of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1596. He was a hard student; and having spent four years in the closest application, he left the university, entered upon the ministerial work, and intended to have gone into Ireland; but preaching at Chester, on his way thither, he received an invitation to be pastor of St. Peter's in that city, where he continued a number of years. He was much followed on account of his pious and profitable preaching, especially by all who had any relish for religion. The excellent and celebrated John Bruen, esq. was one of his hearers, from whom he received many acts of kindness.\* In the year 1615, he removed from Chester, and became vicar of Isleworth in Middlesex,† where he continued the rest of his days. He was a divine of "a profound judgment, a strong memory, a quick invention, and unwearied industry."‡ He was a constant, powerful, and useful preacher; a thorough Calvinist, a nonconformist to the ceremonies, and a strict observer of the sabbath. By his zeal for the sanctification of the Lord's day, his labours in the ministry, and his exemplary life, religion flourished, many were converted, and puritanism gained ground. Yet he was a sufferer with his brethren in the cause of nonconformity.§

Mr. Byfield, during the latter part of his life, was exceedingly afflicted with the stone in the bladder, most probably the effect of intense study and hard labour. And

\* Mr. Bruen had a servant, named Robert Pasfield, but commonly called *Old Robert*, who was "mighty in the scriptures," though he could neither write nor read. He was, indeed, as remarkable for remembering texts and sermons, as Judidiah Buxton for remembering numbers. For by the help of his memory, he invented and framed a girdle of leather, long and large, which went twice about him. This he divided into several parts, allotting every book in the Bible, in their order, to some of these divisions; then for the chapters, he affixed points or thongs of leather to the several divisions, and made knots by fives or tens thereupon, to distinguish the chapters of that book; and by other points, he divided the chapters into their particular contents or verses, as occasion required. This he used instead of pen and ink, in hearing sermons, and made so good a use of it, that, coming home, he was able by it to repeat the sermon, quote the texts of scripture, &c. to his own great comfort and to the benefit of others. This girdle Mr. Bruen kept after *Old Robert's* death, hung it up in his study, and would pleasantly call it "*The girdle of Verity*."—Hinde's *Life of Bruen*, p. 58, 135.—Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 251.

† Newcourt's *Repert. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 676.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 402.

§ MS. *Chronology*, vol. ii, p. 699. (2)



having groaned for several years under the most excruciating pain, it brought him at length to his grave, in the year 1622, and the forty-third of his age. Fuller observes, that for *fifteen years together*, he preached at Isleworth twice every Lord's day, and expounded the scriptures every Wednesday and Friday, till five weeks before his death. If this account be just, the time of his removal from Chester, or the period we have given of his death, must evidently one of them be incorrect.\* His body being opened after his death, a stone was taken out of his bladder, which weighed *thirty-three* ounces, and measured about the edges fifteen inches and a half, the length and breadth about thirteen inches, and of a substance like flint. "There are many eye-witnesses, besides myself," says Dr. William Gouge, in his account of this wonderful phenomenon, "who can justify the truth of what I say."† He meekly and patiently endured his torturing pains till death gave him perfect ease. Mr. Byfield published several books during his life, and others came forth after his death, shewing him to have been a person of good parts, great learning, and uncommon industry. Bishop Wilkins passes a high encomium upon his sermons, classing them with the most excellent in his day.‡ He was father to Mr. Adoniram Byfield, another puritan divine, of whom some account will be given. Mr. Richard Byfield, the ejected nonconformist in 1662, was his half-brother.§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. An Essay on the Assurance of God's Love and Man's Salvation, 1614.—2. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Colossians, 1615.||—3. Directions for the private reading of the Scriptures, 1618.—4. A Treatise shewing how a godly Christian may support his Heart with comfort against all the Distresses which, by reason of any Affliction or Temptation, can befall him in this Life, 1618.—5. The beginning of the Doctrine of Christ, or a Catalogue of Sins, 1609.—6. The Marrow of the Oracles of God, 1620.—7. Commentary or Sermons on the second Chap. of the 1 Epis. of St. Peter, 1623.—8. Sermons on the first ten verses of the third Chap. of the 1 Epis. of St. Peter, 1626.—The two last were published, with additions, entitled, "A Commentary upon the whole First Epistle of St. Peter," 1637.—9. An Exposition of the Apostle's Creed, 1626.—10. Answer to Mr. Breerwood's Treatise of the Sabbath, 1630.—11. The Light of Faith and Way of Holiness, 1630.—12. The Signs of

\* Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 127.

† Ibid.—Evangel. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 416.

‡ Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 301.

|| This work is full of good sense and spiritual savour, and abounds with pertinent citations of scripture, without any pretensions to oratorical dress. *Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 437.

God's Love to us, 1630.—13. The Practice of Christianity; or, an Epitome of Mr. Rich. Rogers's Seven Treatises.—14. The principal Grounds of the Christian Religion.—15. Several Sermons.

HENRY AINSWORTH.—This person was a celebrated scholar, an excellent divine, and a painful sufferer for nonconformity. Though little is known of him, especially during the early part of his life, his uncommon skill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the sacred scriptures, are held in high reputation to this day. About the year 1590, we find him a distinguished leader among the Brownists, to whom he adhered, and with whom he bore his share of grievous persecution. About the same period, among the books that were written against the church of England, and seized by authority, was one entitled "Counter-Poyson."\* The author of this work, though not mentioned in the first edition, was Mr. Ainsworth; and as it probably drew upon him the vengeance of the ruling prelates, so it might hasten his departure into a foreign land. Though he was a native of England, this is all that we know of him till he became a resident in Holland; but at what period he removed thither, cannot be exactly ascertained. It is most probable, however, that he accompanied the Brownists in their general banishment, in the year 1593.+ And it is most certain that he was in Holland in 1596, when he carried on a correspondence with the celebrated Junius. Hoornbeck relates, that during Mr. Ainsworth's abode in Holland, he made a voyage to Ireland, and there left some disciples. ‡

Mr. Ainsworth lived at Amsterdam, where his external circumstances, like those of the church in general, were very low. He is said to have been porter to a bookseller, who, having discovered his skill in the Hebrew language, made it known to his countrymen. Mr. Roger Williams, founder of Providence Plantation in New England, in whose testimony we have reason to confide, informs us, "that he lived upon nine-pence a week, and some boiled roots."§ The account which the Brownists give of themselves is, "that they were almost consumed with deep poverty; loaded with reproaches; despised and afflicted by all."|| The reception which they met with from a

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 441.

+ Ibid. p. 468, 495.—Life of Ainsworth, p. 13.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

§ Cotton's Answer to Williams, p. 119.

|| Life of Ainsworth, p. 15.

people just emerging from civil and ecclesiastical oppression, was very different from what might have been expected. The civil power, commonly more friendly to a toleration than the ecclesiastical, does not, indeed, seem to have troubled them. But the Dutch clergy regarded them with a jealous eye; and they appear to have been screened from persecution chiefly by their own insignificance.\* During this season of tribulation, Mr. Ainsworth did not remain idle; for most of his books, which are evidently the fruit of good learning, much reading, and close application, were written at this period.

After the publication of the above piece, the next work in which we find him to have been engaged was a translation of the Brownists' Confession of Faith into Latin. It appeared in 1598, and was dedicated to the universities of Leyden, Heidelberg, Geneva, St. Andrews, and the other public seminaries of Holland, Germany, France, and Scotland. It was afterwards translated into English, and does not differ much in doctrine from the Harmony of Confessions.† In this confession the Brownists did not intend to erect a standard of faith for others, and impose it upon them; but merely to vindicate themselves from the odium under which they laboured, as discontented and factious sectaries. Their conduct was very different from that of the most famous councils or synods, which, while they have compiled systems of faith and tests of orthodoxy for ages and nations, have seldom failed to sow the seeds of discord and enmity among men.

After the Brownists were first settled at Amsterdam, they erected a church, as they thought, according to the model of the New Testament, choosing Mr. Francis Johnson for their pastor, and Mr. Ainsworth for doctor or teacher. The church, however, did not continue long in peace, but was torn in pieces by several unhappy divisions, as will be found particularly noticed in another place.‡ In the first of these divisions Mr. Ainsworth took part with Mr. Johnson the pastor; but was so much grieved at the unnatural heats which the controversy excited, that he spoke of laying down his office as teacher. In the next controversy, Mr. Ainsworth took an active part against Mr. John Smyth, who had espoused sentiments similar to those of Arminius, and who rejected infant baptism. And of the third division, in which he was personally concerned, he

\* Life of Ainsworth, p. 16.

† Ibid. p. 15, 18.

‡ See Art. Francis Johnson.



published a particular account in a book entitled "An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, who, under pretence of answering Mr. Chr. Laune's book, hath published another man's private letter, with Mr. Francis Johnson's Answer thereto. Which letter is here justified; the answer thereto refuted; and the true causes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled church at Amsterdam, manifested," 1613.\* The occasion of this breach appears to have been a difference of opinion respecting church discipline. Upon this division, a second congregation was raised at Amsterdam under the superintendence of Mr. Ainsworth, who is said to have been succeeded by the famous Mr. John Canne, author of marginal references to the Bible.† Mr. Ainsworth's enemies, to cast an odium on his memory, have been pleased to say, that, after his death, his people continued many years without a pastor, and without the administration of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper; and that they were rent by another division, one half following Mr. John de Cluse, and the other Mr. Canne.‡ But these representations, evidently designed to reproach these persecuted people, are unsupported by sufficient evidence, and several particulars are denied and refuted by one who lived in those times, and obtained the most correct information.§ With regard to Mr. Ainsworth himself, he is reproachfully charged with having changed his opinions from a conformist to a separatist, and from a separatist to a conformist, no less than six times; but, as there does not appear the least shadow of truth in the charge, the deserved odium will doubtless fall upon its bigoted author.||

It is a circumstance which deserves to be recorded to the honour of Mr. Ainsworth, that in the midst of the above unhappy controversies, in which his own pen was actively employed, he preserved a meek and true christian spirit. Though he is represented by his enemies to have been extremely rigid, intemperate, and severe, the contrary is very evident. Mr. John Paget having challenged him to a disputation upon points of church discipline, Mr. Ainsworth, in a letter dated July 12, 1617, returned the following mild and peaceable answer:—"If any thing pass betwixt you and me about those points, you shall be the first

\* Life of Ainsworth, p. 28—38.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 45.

‡ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 15.—Paget's Answer to Best and Davenport, p. 134.—Paget's Defence, p. 33.

§ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 6.

|| Bailie's Vindication, p. 7.

“provoker of it. And if you desire it, I will not refuse.  
 “It shall be at your own choice. As I love not to begin  
 “controversy, so I will not be wanting to do any good I  
 “can, to you or any other; or to defend any point of truth  
 “which God hath given me to see and witness, when I am  
 “duly called thereunto.”\*

Mr. Ainsworth cultivated, at the same time, those studies which were more congenial to his profession, and more beneficial to the best interests of men. His great work, the “Annotations on the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon,” was published separately, in the year 1612, and several following years; and afterwards collected and printed in London, in one volume folio, 1627, and again in 1639. This last edition is said to be very scarce. As to the execution of the work, its great worth has been established by the strongest testimonies of foreign as well as British divines. Succeeding critics have adopted his remarks, and he is frequently cited by modern commentators. Dr. Doddridge says, “Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Solomon’s Song, is a good book, full of very valuable Jewish learning; and his translation is, in many places, to be preferred to our own, especially on the Psalms.”†

The manner of Mr. Ainsworth’s death, as related by Mr. Neal, was sudden and singular, and not without strong suspicion of violence. For it is observed, that he, having found a diamond of great value in the streets of Amsterdam, advertised it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he desired. Mr. Ainsworth, however, though poor, would accept nothing except only a conference with some of the rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah, which the other promised; but not having sufficient interest to obtain the favour, it is thought he caused him to be poisoned.‡ Other accounts say, that he obtained the conference, and so confounded the Jews, that, from spite and malice, they in this manner put a period to his life. Some writers, however, doubt the truth of this account, because it is never mentioned by any of the editors of his posthumous pieces. His death, by whatever cause it was produced, happened about the close of the year 1622, or the beginning of 1623.§

\* Paget’s Arrow against Separation, p. 2.

† Doddridge’s Works, vol. v. p. 472. Edit. 1804.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. ii. p. 45.

§ Life of Ainsworth, p. 60, 61.

Mr. Ainsworth was a man of great piety, uncommon erudition, and extraordinary abilities. Whatever engaged his pen was treated with proper respect, even by his adversaries; who, while they disapproved his sentiments, could not fail to admire his abilities. The famous Bishop Hall, who wrote against the Brownists, always speaks of him as the greatest man of their party; and refers to him as their doctor, their chief, their rabbi.\* He was unquestionably a person of profound learning, exquisitely versed in a knowledge of the scriptures, and deeply read in the Jewish rabbins. He possessed a strong understanding, a quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. His temper was meek and amiable, his zeal for divine truth fervent, and he conducted himself with great moderation towards his adversaries. The following account is given of Mr. Ainsworth, by one of his contemporaries, and one unfriendly to his peculiar sentiments:—"For the life of the man, myself being eye-witness, living some time with him at Amsterdam, of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeal in the point and practice of separation, he lived and died unblamably to the world; and I am thoroughly persuaded that his soul rests with his Saviour."†

His WORKS.—1. Counter-Poyson, 1590.—2. A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministry, used in the Christian churches separated from Antichrist, against Mr. Sinyth, 1609.—3. An Animadversion on Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, 1613.—4. The Trying out of the Truth, begun and prosecuted in certain Letters and Passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth: the one pleading for, the other against the present Church of Rome, 1615.—5. A Reply to the pretended Christian Plea for the Antichristian Church of Rome, published against Francis Johnson, 1620.—6. Certain Notes of Mr. Ainsworth's last Sermon, on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5., 1630.—7. The old orthodox Foundation of Religion, 1641.—8. A seasonable Discourse; or, a Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, 1643.—9. The Book of Psalms Englished both in prose and metre, 1644.—10. A Guide to Zion.—11. An Advertisement touching some Objections against the sincerity of the Hebrew text; and the Allegations of the Rabbins.—12. A Treatise of the Communion of Saints.—13. An Arrow against Idolatry.—The two last were reprinted together in 1789, with a copious and interesting account of the author prefixed.—14. His Annotations already mentioned, and probably some others.

\* Hall's Apologie against the Brownists.

† Life of Ainsworth, p. 62.



**WILLIAM PEMBLE, A. M.**—This learned divine was the son of a minister, born at Egerton in Kent, in the year 1591, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where Mr. Richard Capel was his tutor. From a child he was trained up in good literature, and profited in all kinds of knowledge, more than most others. From the tender years of infancy he was constantly taught in the school of Christ; so that, under the influence of divine grace, together with the sanctified use of his manifold afflictions and temptations, he attained a high degree of heavenly wisdom. Though he was young in years, he offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than many of his elder brethren.\* At the university he acquired a most distinguished reputation, and became a celebrated reader of divinity in Magdalen college. According to our author, “he was a zealous Calvinist, a famous preacher, an excellent artist, a skilful linguist, a good orator, an expert mathematician, and an ornament to the society to which he belonged.” Adrian Heereboord, the famous professor of philosophy at Leyden, was very profuse in the commendation of his learning and learned works.† Another writer observes, “that he thoroughly traced the circle of the arts; and attained a degree of eminence, not only in the sciences, but even in those more sublime speculations of which many are not capable.”‡

Magdalen college was the very nursery of puritans. Mr. Pemble was justly denominated one of them, though he did not carry his nonconformity, in certain points, quite so far as some of his brethren. He laboured openly to promote the reformation of the church, and encouraged the relaxation of subscription and other points of conformity. He was tutor to many puritans, who afterwards became distinguished ornaments for learning, piety, and usefulness. This divine, with many others, affords sufficient proof that the puritans were not all unlearned, or at all inferior in learning to those who conformed.§

Mr. Pemble going on a visit to Mr. Capel, formerly his tutor, but now minister at Eastington in Gloucestershire, was taken ill, and died at his tutor's house, in the thirty-second year of his age. His remains were interred in the

\* Pemble's Works, Pref. Edit. 1627.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 405.

‡ Pemble on Justification, Pref. Edit. 1625.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 705. (4.)

church-yard at that place, and over his grave was the following plain monumental inscription :

Here lieth  
the Body of  
WILLIAM PEMBLE,  
Master of Arts and Preacher,  
who died April 14,  
1623.

He left the world in the comfortable and full persuasion of justification by faith in the righteousness of Jesus Christ.\* Bishop Wilkins, in his list of the most excellent sermons in his time, includes those of Mr. Pemble.†

His WORKS.—1. A Treatise of Justification by Faith, 1625.—2. A Treatise of Providence.—3. The Book of Ecclesiastes Explained, 1628.—4. A Plea for Grace, more especially the Grace of Faith, 1629.—5. An Exposition of the first Nine Chapters of Zechariah, 1629.—6. Five godly and profitable Sermons, 1629.—7. Fruitful Sermons on 1 Cor. xv. 18, 19., 1629.—8. An Introduction to the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper, 1629.—9. De formarum origine, 1629.—10. De Senibus internis, 1629.—11. A Sum of Moral Philosophy, 1630.—12. The Period of the Persian Monarchy, 1631.—13. Enchiridion Oratorium, 1633.—14. An Introduction to Geography, 1685.—The above articles in English were collected and published in one volume folio, 1635, being much esteemed and often reprinted.

JOHN SPRINT, A. M.—This learned person was the son of Dr. John Sprint, dean of Bristol, a frequent Calvinistic preacher; was born in or near that city, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. After taking his degrees in arts, he became vicar of Thornbury in Gloucestershire; but afterwards removed to London, where he became a very popular preacher. Wood says, "he was a grave and pious divine, but for the most part disaffected to the ceremonies of the church of England, at least, while he continued at Thornbury. He was, indeed, called in question for uttering certain things against the ceremonies and discipline of the established church." This writer also adds, that he not only conformed himself, but was the great instrument in persuading others to do the same, by his book, called "Cassander Anglicanus." Fullers says, he put in the one scale the woe pronounced against those who preach not the gospel, or desert their flocks upon pretended scrupulosity; and in the other, the nature of those ceremonies that were enjoined by lawful authority; and finding the former to preponderate, he concluded it to be unlawful, on any such

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 405.

† Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

account, for any one to leave or lose his ministerial function.\* Dr. Calamy, having mentioned Mr. Sprint's "Cassander Anglicanus," adds, "I think it not improper to communicate to the world a paper concerning it, which was written by the hand of his own son; a copy of which was sent me by the grandson of the author, with assurance that it was drawn up by his father, Mr. Samuel Sprint of Tidworth." The paper was as follows:

1. "This book meddles not with *subscription*, but disclaims it, p. 237.

2. "In all the arguments, it supposeth, that the ceremonies imposed are inconveniencies, and the church's burdens.

3. "By the quotations, p. 194, 196, and elsewhere, he adviseth us to bear witness against them, and to express our *dissent* from them, and then conform: Which is not to *assent*; and much less, to declare our *unfeigned assent*, as well as *consent* to them.

4. "Bishop Laud said, 'It had been no great matter, if this book and the author had been burnt together.'

5. "This book is not fully comprehensive of the author's judgment: for, besides what is extant of his in print, (viz. his 'Bellum Ceremoniale,' printed by another,) and what he hath left in manuscript, this book, as he hath acknowledged to his acquaintance, hath suffered much by the hands of the bishop's chaplain, who was appointed the reviser of books to be printed."†

From this account, and even from the words of Fuller, as cited above, it appears that Mr. Sprint was a puritan in principle and a nonconformist in practice; only he would conform, and recommended others to conform, rather than suffer deprivation. "To speak my free thoughts," observes Calamy, "I take that book of Mr. Sprint's to be a defence of *occasional* conformity to the church, in evidence of charity, while a testimony is publicly borne against its remaining corruptions; rather than a plea for entire conformity."‡ He was a man of excellent wisdom and great moderation. He died in London, May 7, 1623, and his remains were interred at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, where he appears to have been for some time minister. Mr. Samuel Sprint and Mr. John Sprint, jun. both ejected in 1662, were his sons.§

His WORKS.—I. Propositions tending to prove the necessary Use of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's Day, 1607.—2. The practice of

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 406.—Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 360.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 343.

‡ Moderate Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 27. Edit. 1703.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 282, 456.



that Sacred Day, framed after the Rules of God's Word, 1607.—3. The Summ of Christian Religion by way of Question and Answer, 1613.—4. Cassander Anglicanus: or, the Necessity of Conforming to the prescribed Ceremonies of the Church, in case of Deprivation, 1618. 5. The Christian's Sword and Buckler; or, a Letter sent to a Man seven years grievously afflicted in Conscience and fearfully troubled in Mind, 1638.—6. Bellum Ceremoniale, already mentioned.

**JOHN GEE, A. B.**—This zealous person was the son of a minister, born in Devonshire, in the year 1597, and educated first in Brazen-nose college, then in Exeter college, Oxford. Entering upon the ministerial work, he was beneficed at Newton, near Winwick, in Lancashire. Being at this period much inclined to popery, he left the place, and retired to London, where he became intimately acquainted with several leading persons of the popish persuasion. October 26, 1623, Mr. Gee was in the assembly of above three hundred persons, collected in an upper room, in Blackfriars, London; when, about the middle of the sermon, the floor giving way, Drury, the Roman catholic priest, and nearly one hundred of the congregation, were killed, and many others severely bruised.\* This he considered a most alarming and awakening providence. Having already received many urgent letters from his father, and by means of a conference which he had with Archbishop Abbot, he renounced the errors of popery, and became a zealous protestant. Some, it is said, thought he became *too zealous* a protestant. For he embraced the principles of the puritans, and wrote with great spirit and ability against the papists, exposing their errors and superstitions. The papists, however, in return, loaded him with much slander and abuse. After renouncing popery, he preached at Tenterden in Kent, where he died, but at what particular time we are not able to learn.† He had a younger brother, called Orlando Gee, who was afterwards knighted.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The Foot out of the Snare, with a Detection of sundry late Practices and Impostures of the Priests and Jesuits in England, 1624.—2. A gentle Excuse to Mr. Greg. Musket for styling him Jesuit, 1624.—Both these passed through four editions this year.—3. Hold fast, a Sermon at Paul's cross, on Rev. iii. 11., 1624.—4. New Shreds of the old Snare, containing the Apparitions of two Female Ghosts, the copies of divers Letters, and Indulgences purchased at Rome, 1624.

\* Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 338, 339.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 427.

**JOHN KNEWSTUBS, B. D.**—This learned divine was born at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, in the year 1540, and chosen fellow of St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge,\* where he was much esteemed for his great piety, abilities, and learning. During his abode in the university, he united with Dr. Andrews, afterwards bishop of Ely, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Carter, and other distinguished persons, in the observance of weekly meetings for conference upon certain portions of scripture. These meetings were conducted with great decorum, and found of signal advantage to all.

In the year 1579, Mr. Knewstubs, upon his removal from Cambridge, became minister at Cockfield in Suffolk. Here he was labouring in the vineyard of Christ, when sixty ministers, from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, assembled in his church to confer about the Book of Common Prayer, with the view of coming to an agreement concerning what things might be tolerated, and what were to be refused. They consulted also about the clerical apparel, holidays, fasts, injunctions, and other matters.† Dr. Heylin says, this meeting was held May 8, 1582.‡

In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, Mr. Knewstubs and sixty other ministers of Suffolk, whose names are now before me, were not resolved to subscribe, and, for further satisfaction, wrote to their diocesan, desiring the resolution of their doubts, some of which were the following:—"The administration of baptism in private.—The use of the cross in baptism.—The interrogatories proposed to the infants.—The burial service, requiring us to commit to the ground *all characters*, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.—And the reading of apocryphal books in public worship, to the exclusion of some parts of canonical scripture."§ Their application, however, proved unsuccessful, and they were all suspended from their ministerial work, upwards of forty of whom received the ecclesiastical censure on one day.||

This excellent divine being laid aside from his beloved work, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh wrote to him and Mr. John Oxenbridge, another suspended minister, requesting them to declare, "That they would use the Book of Common Prayer; and that in their public ministry they

\* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. b. vi. p. 22.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 135.

‡ Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 292.

§ MS. Register, p. 434, 435.

|| Ibid. p. 436, 437.

would not preach against it." Upon the reception of this, they returned his lordship the following open and generous declaration, earnestly soliciting his favourable attention to their case, as the silenced ministers of Christ:—"Right honourable and very good lord," say they, "we find it is your lordship's pleasure that we should declare in writing our consent to these two points: That we will use the Book of Common Prayer; and that we will not inveigh against it in our public ministry.—In the first place, as we have hitherto used the said book in our public worship, so we do purpose to use it, and no other, except some other shall be established by public authority. And, secondly, we always have had a special regard, both in our public ministry and private life, for the peace of the church and our duty to her majesty, and to walk in all quiet and christian behaviour towards all who use the book in some things more strictly than we can do: and we mean always to act thus in future.

"Seeing these are the things which your honour thinketh good to request at our hands, we most humbly beseech your lordship's favour, that we may be relieved from that subscription, which, as we verily think, the states of the realm have not required of us; and that we may be restored to our ministry, as in times past. Which, if we obtain, we shall be bound both to praise God for your clemency and to pray for the increase and continuance of your honour's estate and happiness."\*

It does not appear how long these learned divines remained under the bishop's censure, nor whether their application to the treasurer proved at all available. Mr. Knewstubs joined with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline." He laboured with great zeal and moderation to carry on the work of reformation in the church, and frequently met with his brethren at their associations in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge. Being a known and decided nonconformist, though a man of no severe principles, his house was narrowly watched, and afterwards strictly searched, by the prelate's officers.†

In the year 1603, Mr. Knewstubs was one of the puritan divines appointed by King James to attend the Hampton-court conference. He signified, on this occasion, his objections against the *interrogatories* in baptism. But Dr. Barlow, who published "The Sum and Substance of the

\* MS. Register, p. 587, 588.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 593. (4.)



Conference," instead of informing us what he said upon this point, is pleased to observe, that his discourse was so extremely perplexed that it was very difficult to be understood.\* This, surely, is a short and easy method of answering an argument, and of reproaching an adversary. Mr. Knewstubs also excepted against the *cross* in baptism;† because, as he observed, it gave offence to many weak brethren, contrary to Rom. xiv. and 2 Cor. viii., where their consciences are not to be offended. He inquired whether the church had power to add external significant signs. Then, if it had such power, whether it might add them where Christ hath already ordained one. To attempt this, appeared to him no less derogatory to the institution of Christ, than if any person in the land should presume to add his own seal to the great seal of England. But if the church had this power also, Mr. Knewstubs further inquired, How far is such an ordinance to bind us, without impeaching our christian liberty? The king, hearing this, was greatly moved, and said it smelt rankly of anabaptism; and, therefore, he would not argue the point with him! "I will," added his majesty, "have one doctrine, one discipline, and one religion, in substance and in ceremony; and, therefore, I charge you never more to speak upon that point, how far you are to obey, when the church hath ordained it!"‡ Such was the logic of that prince who was styled the Solomon of the age!

Towards the close of the conference, Dr. Chadderton having requested that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain pious and painful ministers in Lancashire, Mr. Knewstubs, upon his knees, requested the like favour and forbearance for certain of his brethren in Suffolk, saying, it would be much against them to require these things. "Sir," replied the king, "you shew yourself to be uncharitable. We have taken pains, and in the end have concluded on unity and uniformity; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credit of a few private men, before the peace

\* Barlow's Account, p. 163.

† He might with propriety have asked, Why may not any other sign be used in baptism, as well as the sign of the cross? If it had been said, Because our Saviour was crucified upon the cross; he might have inquired of what shape or figure was the Saviour's cross; lest, in making the sign of it, they should not make the sign of *that* cross, but of some other. And how shall we know the exact figure of our *Saviour's* cross? The original word, as used in the New Testament, according to the opinion of the learned, signifies a *stake* or *post*, as well as a cross.

‡ Ibid. p. 164—166.

of the church. I will none of that ; and, therefore, let them either conform themselves, and that shortly, or they shall hear of it."\* Some further account of this *mock* conference, as it is very commonly and very justly denominated, is given in another place.†

Mr. Knewstubs was a learned and celebrated divine, and though the productions of his pen do not appear to have been very numerous, Fuller denominates him one of the learned writers of St. John's college, Cambridge.‡ He continued his zealous and faithful ministry at Cockfield to the day of his death, having laboured at that place forty-five years. He died May 29, 1624, aged eighty years, when his remains were interred at Cockfield, and over his grave a monumental inscription was erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation :§

In MEMORY  
of that most humble  
and affectionate Servant of God,  
JOHN KNEWSTUBS,  
forty-five years the very watchful  
and faithful pastor of the church of Cockfield ;  
a teacher of the church, and an excellent scholar ;  
a firm asserter and defender of Christian Truth,  
the wholesome doctrines of the Gospel,  
and uncorrupted Religion,  
against the Roman Antichrist and his emissaries.  
He bravely withstood the storms of life,  
and patiently endured the greatest sufferings  
for the glory of God.  
At length, worn out with infirmities,  
in the 80th year of his age,  
with divine serenity,  
he withdrew from this mortal life,  
and entered the celestial Country,  
on the 29th of May, 1624.  
As there are  
never-fading monuments of his Genius,  
lest posterity should wish  
for some memorial of his body also ;  
this Monument,  
too small for so great a man,  
contains the mortal part of  
JOHN KNEWSTUBS.

Friends maye awile by Arte our Viewe commende,  
But tys not longe eare all Thinges heere shall ende.  
The Arte of Artes is so to lyve and dye,  
As we may lyve in Heav'n eternally.

\* Barlow's Account, p. 176, 177.

† See Art. Dr. John Rainolds.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 95.

§ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. b. vi. p. 22.

Mr. Knewstubs is classed among the generous benefactors of St. John's college, Cambridge. September 1, 1623, he founded two exhibitions for two poor scholars; for which purpose he gave to the college eleven pounds a year, out of certain lands, called squires' lands, at Southminster and Steeple in Essex. He appointed twenty shillings of this annuity for the use of the college, and ten pounds for two poor scholars, to be elected at the general election of scholars, one of them to be out of the north, the other from the south. The former of these was to be a person born within the parish of Kirkby Stephen; or, in case of the want of such a one, any one born in the county of Westmoreland, or educated in the school at Kirkby Stephen: but in the want of such a one, then a person to be chosen out of the school at Appleby. The scholar from the south was to be a person born within the parish of Cockfield in Suffolk; and in the want of such a one, then a person to be chosen from the school at Sudbury. He appointed the nomination of the one to the vice-chancellor, or the incumbent of Kirkby Stephen and the schoolmaster for the time being; and of the other to the incumbent of Cockfield for the time being. He further ordered, that if either of the scholars should be absent from the college upwards of *fifty* days together, the allowance, during that period, should go to the use of the college; and if absent *ninety-one* days, he should forfeit his exhibition.\*

His WORKS.—1. A Confutation of certain Monstrous and Horrible Heresies, taught by H. N. (Henry Nichols) and embraced by a number who call themselves *The Family of Love*, 1579.—2. Lectures on Various Portions of Scripture.—3. An Answer to certain Assertions.

RICHARD CRAKENTHROP, D. D.—This learned divine was born of respectable parents near Strickland in Westmoreland, in the year 1577, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. About the year 1603, he became chaplain to Lord Evers, in his mission as ambassador to the court of Germany, by which he became acquainted with many persons celebrated for learning, and visited several of the foreign universities. Upon his return to England he became chaplain in ordinary to King James; and, by the favour of Sir John Levesen, was presented to the rectory of Black-Notely,

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxiii. This volume is not paged.



near Braintree in Essex. In the year 1617, he became rector of Packelsham.\*

This learned divine attempted to vindicate the famous Dr. John Rainolds from the reproachful imputation of puritanism, but evidently with very little success; and, in fact, while he laboured to clear his friend and favourite of the reproachful charge, he was himself found guilty. He was justly denominated a puritan, as well as Rainolds. The Oxford historian says, "he was a noted preacher, a profound disputant, and a good divine, and was greatly admired and venerated by all great men, especially by those of the puritanical party, being himself a zealot among them." He further adds, "that Dr. Crakenthorp was esteemed by most to have been replenished with all kinds of virtue and learning; to have been a profound philosopher and theologian, a great canonist, and so familiar in the fathers, councils, and schoolmen, that scarcely any in his time went beyond him; and that few authors have written with greater diligence and success."† He died at Black-Notely, says this writer, "for want of a bishopric," as King James used to say in reproach of such men; and his remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place; November 25, 1624, aged forty-seven years. Dr. John Barkham, dean of Bocking, preached his funeral sermon, and gave the deceased high commendations for learning and piety. Dr. Crakenthorp sometimes preached the sermon at Paul's cross, and one or more of these sermons was afterwards published.

His Works.—1. Sermons on several Occasions, 1608.—2. Justinian the Emperor defended, against Card. Baronius, 1616.—3. Introductio in Metaphysicam, 1619.—4. A Defence of Constantine, with a Treatise of the Pope's Temporal Monarchy, 1621.—5. Logicæ libri quinque, de prædicalibus, prædicamentis, etc., 1622.—6. Tractatus de Providentia Dei, 1622.—7. Defensio Eccl. Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archep. Spalatensis injurias, 1625.‡—8. Virgilius dormitans; or, a Treatise of the first General Council held at Constantinople, an. 553, under Justinian the Emperor, 1631.—Though he left numerous manuscripts, it does not appear whether any other articles were ever published.

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 443, 459.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 417, 418.

‡ Archbishop Abbot calls this work "the most exact piece of controversy since the reformation."—*Leigh on Religion and Learning*, p. 172.

WALTER TRAVERS, B. D.—This celebrated divine was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge; where he took his degrees in arts, and was incorporated in the same at Oxford. Afterwards he travelled to Geneva, where he formed an intimate and abiding acquaintance with Beza and other learned divines. Upon his return to Cambridge, where he remained for some time, he took his degree in divinity. In 1572, he was member of the first presbyterian church in England, erected at Wandsworth in Surrey.\* While the prelates rigorously imposed subscription upon ministers, and required an exact conformity to the established church, many learned persons, who had conscientious objections against the English mode of ordination, went abroad to Middleburg, Antwerp, and other places, and received ordination according to the foreign reformed churches; which, in their opinion, was much more agreeable to the word of God. Among those whose convictions led them to adopt this course was Mr. Travers, who went to Antwerp, and was there ordained by the presbytery. His honourable testimonial, dated May 14, 1578, is the following:—“For as much as it is just and reasonable, “that such as are received into the number of the ministers “of God’s word should have a testimonial of their vocation; we declare, that, having called together a synod of “*twelve* ministers of God’s word, and almost the same “number of elders, at Antwerp, on May 8, 1578, our very “learned, pious, and excellent brother, the reverend Doctor “*Gaulter Travers*, was, by the unanimous votes and ardent “desires of all present, received and instituted into the “ministry of God’s holy word, and confirmed according “to our accustomed manner, with prayer and imposition “of hands; and the next day after the sabbath, having “preached before a full congregation of *English*, at the “request of the ministers, he was acknowledged and “received most affectionately by the whole church. That “Almighty God would prosper the ministry of this our “reverend brother among the English, and attend it with “great success, is our most earnest prayer, through Jesus “Christ. *Amen*.

“Given at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, and signed,

“JOHANNES TAFFINUS, V. D. M.

“LOGELERIUS VILERIUS, V. D. M.

“JOHANNES HOCHELCUS, V. D. M.”

\* See Art. John Field.

+ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 214.

Mr. Travers, soon after his ordination, became assistant to Mr. Cartwright, then preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp. He was a person highly distinguished for prudence, learning, and piety; and, therefore, upon his return to England, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh made choice of him for his domestic chaplain, and as tutor to his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. The treasurer was, indeed, a constant friend and patron of the nonconformists, and discovered his affectionate regard for them through the whole of his life.\* In the face of the whole nation, therefore, he countenanced this learned and excellent divine, and received him into his family, notwithstanding his nonconformity. Mr. Travers could not conscientiously subscribe; on which account he was incapable of any considerable preferment in the church, which, we may suppose, his noble patron was ready to bestow upon him. The lecturer's place at the Temple becoming vacant, the learned gentlemen of that society invited him to accept it; and, as no subscription was requisite for that office, he complied with their invitation.

In the year 1584, a short time before Dr. Alvey, master of the Temple, closed his eyes in death, the doctor, with the learned gentlemen of that society, recommended Mr. Travers for his successor. Dr. Alvey the master, and Mr. Travers the lecturer, lived together some years in great amity and love. They mutually united in carrying on the work of reformation in the place; and, with much zeal, wisdom, and resolution, they joined in promoting true christian piety among the learned benchers, by whom they were both very highly esteemed.† The above recommendation was presented to the treasurer, who communicated the same to the queen, signifying to her majesty his approbation of their choice. But, by the powerful endeavours and superior influence of Archbishop Whitgift, he was rejected, and Mr. Richard Hooker, author of "Ecclesiastical Polity," was nominated to the office. Whitgift most vigorously opposed the admission of Mr. Travers, and signified to the queen, "that he was one of the principal authors of dissention in the church; that he contemned the Book of Common Prayer, and other orders as by authority established; that he sought to promote innovation; and that he was only ordained abroad, and not according to the form of the church of England." Mr. Travers, however,

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 513. (14.)

† Ibid. p. 431. (8.)



justified himself against all the false charges which were brought against him, and proved, at some length, the validity of his ordination.\*

During the above year, our learned divine was engaged in a public conference holden at Lambeth. The first day's conference, December 10th, was betwixt Archbishop Whitgift and the Bishop of Winchester, on the one part; and Mr. Travers and Dr. Thomas Sparke, on the other, in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The subject of discussion was confined to those things in the Book of Common Prayer which appeared to require a reformation. The conference was opened by the following declaration made by the archbishop:—"My lord of Leicester having requested, for his own satisfaction, to hear what the ministers could reprove, and how their objections might be answered, I have granted his request. Let us then hear what things in the Book of Common Prayer you think ought to be mended. You now appear before me, not judicially, nor as called in question by authority, but by way of conference. You shall, therefore, be free (speaking in duty) to charge the book with those things in which it is faulty."

Though the conference is of considerable length, the substance of it will, no doubt, be gratifying to the inquisitive reader. Whitgift, therefore, having finished, Dr. Sparke replied as follows:—"We give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, and to these honourable persons, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to an impartial hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious goodness so to order things, that we now enjoy that equity and favour, before such honourable personages, as may be a worthy means with her most excellent majesty, of promoting a further reformation of such things as are needful: and that it is now lawful for us to declare freely, for the satisfaction of those in authority, what things ought to be reviewed and reformed in the public service of God. As the favourable issue depends on the blessing of God, I desire, before we proceed further, that we may seek his gracious direction and blessing." Then attempting to begin to pray, the archbishop interrupted him, saying, "You shall make no prayers here. You shall not turn this place into a *conventicle*."

The two chief points which these divines urged

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 173—176.

against the Book of Common Prayer, were, " Its appointing certain apocryphal writings to be read in public worship, in which were several errors and false doctrines, and omitting many parts of canonical scripture: and, the doctrine of the sacraments." Concerning the first, they observed, that to appoint various parts of the apocrypha to be read publicly in the church, and omitting many parts of the Old and New Testament, made the apocrypha equal, and even superior, to the canonical scriptures; to which the archbishop made the following reply:

Archbishop. The books called apocrypha, are, indeed, parts of the holy scripture. They have been read in the church in ancient times, and ought to be now read among us.

Travers. The title of holy scripture is that by which the Holy Ghost distinguisheth the canonical scriptures from the apocrypha, and all other writings. This appears from Romans i. And such are the holy scriptures alone, as were given by the inspiration of God. This appears from 2 Tim. iii., 2 Pet. i.

A. The apocrypha was given by the inspiration of God; as were also whatsoever the heathens have written well.

T. In the general sense of the word *inspiration*, what you have said of the apocrypha is true. For no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. But the question relates to such an inspiration as moved and governed the holy men of God, in reporting and setting down those things in which they could not possibly err; and in this sense, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are holy, and given by the inspiration of God. Herein they widely differ from the apocrypha.

A. You cannot shew that there is any error in the apocrypha. And it has been esteemed a part of the holy scriptures by the ancient fathers.

T. If the apocrypha could not be charged with error, yet its authors were not so far directed by God, that they might not have erred; and it has not always had that credit in the church which you have represented. Jerome declareth that it was the opinion of the church, in his time, as well as his own opinion, that some things were fictitious.

A. Let us hear some of the errors in the apocrypha.

Sparke. We mention Eccl. xlv., where the writer, having commended Samuel for his numerous worthy deeds, addeth in the conclusion, that he also prophesied *after he was dead*. This is contrary to the sacred story, which declareth it not

to have been Samuel, but a spirit raised by the witch, assuming the *appearance* of Samuel.\*

Bishop. If it be no error in the canonical scripture calling that which was raised up Samuel; then it could be no error in Ecclesiasticus calling it Samuel.

T. In the holy story it is plain that the spirit is called Samuel, because it appeared *like* him, as declared out of Peter Martyr; but in Ecclesiasticus it is quite the contrary. For the whole chapter is employed in commendation of the *true* Samuel, for his famous and worthy actions while he lived; and then, to finish the praise due to so good a man, it is added, that he also prophesied after his death. This, therefore, could not apply to a spirit assuming his likeness; but to Samuel himself, however contrary it is to sound gospel doctrine, and the true story of scripture.

Earl of Leicester. Is the chapter giving this account of Samuel one of those appointed by the Prayer Book to be read in public worship?

A. Yes, it is.

Lord Gray. What error will the people be in danger of, who hear this read, and believe it? And is it an error to think that witches have power to raise the bodies of the dead?

A. Whether they have or have not, such power is a question among the learned.

S. In Judith, chap. ix., the doings of Simeon and Levi are commended, which is directly contrary to Genesis xlix.; where Jacob utterly condemns what they did. There must, therefore, in such repugnancy against the canonical scriptures, necessarily be an error in the apocrypha.

B. Judith commends only the *manner* of the deed, and Jacob condemns only the deed *itself*.

T. Jacob condemned what they did, not only in substance, but in every circumstance, as wicked and abominable. It was murder committed in wilful opposition against the eternal law of God; and the circumstances under which it was committed, as well as the number who suffered, greatly increased the aggravation of their crime.

B. Comparing the words of Judith, where it is said, "God gave them the sword," with the case of Nebuchadnezzar, who is called the servant of God, they did not deserve to be condemned.

\* Here the archbishop, in reply, read out of his note-book the opinion of Peter Martyr, who said, that the spirit in the sacred story was called Samuel, because it *seemed* to be Samuel.



T. The cases are very different. In the one, Simeon and Levi, being private men, rose up against the magistrates; but in the other, Nebuchadnezzar, coming to destroy Jerusalem, was their king, to whom they were tributary, and to whom they swore obedience. In the one case, they were sojourners in a strange country, and rose up and killed both the people and the magistrates of the country; but, in the other, the king Nebuchadnezzar only punished those who rebelled against him.

S. Private baptism appears, in several respects, not agreeable to the word of God. It is *private*, and performed by *laymen*, yea, even by *women*; and the *doctrine* it implies, even that children dying unbaptized are in danger of damnation, and that outward baptism saveth the child that is baptized.

A. The place is not of the substance of the ordinance. It has been administered privately in time of persecution, and may be again.

T. That is no part of the question. We are now speaking of baptism to be administered in time of peace.

A. The persons, in like manner, are not of the substance of baptism; and in time of persecution, as well as in some other cases, private men have baptized, and may do it again. As for the baptism of women, though I would not allow them to baptize, neither doth the book appoint them so to do; yet I will not deny their baptism to be lawful. I would rather have a child so baptized than die without baptism. Though I do not affirm that children dying without baptism, will certainly be lost; yet, because I should fear and doubt the safety of their state, I would have them baptized by a woman, rather than not at all.\* (Here the first day's conference closed.)

On December 12th they assembled again, when the lord treasurer and the archbishop of York were added to their number. When the company was assembled, Archbishop Whitgift rehearsed what had been discussed on the first day, and then ordered Mr. Travers and Dr. Sparke further to enumerate their objections. But the recapitulation being very partial and imperfect, Dr. Sparke made some amendment, by adding what his lordship had omitted. This being done, they proceeded as follows:

A. Ciprian and some other of the fathers vouch the apocrypha as part of the holy scripture.

T. Some of the fathers having alleged the apocrypha to belong to the holy scriptures, is not so strong a proof that it does belong to them, as the total silence of Jesus Christ and his apostles is, that it does not.

Lord Treasurer. That is no good argument. You can never make a syllogism of that.

T. Whatsoever our Saviour and his apostles alleged not, (allowing that they alleged all the prophets,) is no part of the prophetical writings. But it is true that our Saviour and his apostles alleged all the prophetical writings, and yet never alleged any of the apocryphal. Therefore, the apocryphal writings are no part of the prophetical. *All the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have foretold the days of Christ.*

S. Romans, chap. iv., is so far mistranslated, that the meaning of the apostle is wholly perverted. For where the apostle saith, "Cometh this blessedness upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcised also?" the book appointed to be used readeth the contrary: and Psalm cv., which in the original, and in all good translations, it is, "They were not *disobedient* to his word: but in the Book of Prayer it is, "They were not *obedient*," which is its very opposite.

A. There may be some ambiguity in the Hebrew word. This I cannot tell, having no knowledge of the language. You can tell.

T. and S. There is no ambiguity at all in the word.

A. In baptism there is nothing of the substance of that sacrament, but the *element* and the *word*. With regard to the *place*, you will allow, that in time of persecution it is not unlawful to baptize in private places.

T. The question applies to a peaceable state of the church, as that now enjoyed in the church of England.

A. In like manner the *person* is not of the substance of the sacrament; but at some times, and in some cases, laymen, yea, even women, may baptize. May not a christian baptize in time of persecution, or when living in the West Indies?

T. Your remarks are not pertinent. The question relates to a time of peace, and a christian country. But even in the cases you have supposed, it is not lawful for any one to minister the sacraments without some extraordinary call from God, or some ordinary call from the church. This appears from Hebrews v., where it is said, "No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron."

A. May not a person, being a layman, administer the communion to himself?

T. He cannot: nor could that be deemed a sacrament, because he is no minister. They who administer this ordinance according to its nature, and agreeable to the will of God, must have the authority and commission of God so to do; otherwise they are not within the promise of God, and there can be no sacrament.

Archbishop of York. I disallow of private baptism altogether, and have forbidden the use of it in all my diocese. I have spoken to the queen about it, and I will not suffer it.

A. Calvin held that baptism was necessary, and reproved the anabaptists for deferring it so long.

T. Calvin did not otherwise account baptism necessary than it might not be omitted through neglect or contempt. He never acknowledged any other necessity, nor did any of the reformed churches abroad.

S. Circumcision was the same to the Jews as baptism is to us, which, by the appointment of God, was not to be performed till the child was eight days old; and if that sacrament was so necessary as some suppose, the child was all this time in great danger. If the want of the sacrament of baptism expose the child to endless misery, it were better to have it administered as soon as the child is born.

A. As to the *doctrine* charged upon the necessity of private baptism, it is so guarded in the articles, as will sufficiently clear the church of England of those errors.

T. The doctrine in the articles is good and holy; but the necessity of baptism, as laid down in the Prayer Book, is so great, that in a private place, by a private person, yea, by a woman, in a settled and peaceable state of the church, it may be administered, when, at the birth of the child, there is not so much time as to repeat the Lord's prayer, lest the child should be dead; nor, in some cases, hardly so much time as even to pour the water upon it, and to repeat those words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, &c.* To reconcile all this with the doctrines of scripture, appears impossible.

S. The interrogatories proposed in baptism, and another person's saying for the child, *I believe*, being a thing which the child cannot do, is extremely repugnant to scripture.

A. Augustin says, "The child may be said to believe, because it receives the sacrament of faith."



S. The question in baptism is asked before the sacrament is received.

A. Because the child is in the action of receiving, it may be said to have received.

T. This question and answer in baptism is an untruth; because the sponsor professeth, in the name of the child, that the child believeth, when in all ordinary cases it does not, and cannot believe.

A. The interrogatories are ancient; and it was the custom in the primitive church to have sponsors, who, in the name of the child, did promise and profess that the child did believe.

T. Can it then be credible to any man that children newly born do believe? How can they believe that which they have not heard? And if they had heard, how could they so understand, as with the heart to believe unto righteousness? And concerning the cross in baptism, and other ceremonies, were they ever so ancient, or ever so good in the institution, if they be now abused to idolatry, and unnecessary, or of no use in the church, they ought to be abolished. This appears from the case of the brazen serpent, which, though set up originally by the command of God, and a monument of his special favour; yet, being abused to idolatry, was afterwards broken in pieces and utterly destroyed; and all this was done according to the will of God. So the cross, being never of any use in baptism, and being as much abused to idolatry as ever the brazen serpent was, and always tending to promote superstition and give offence to persons of tender consciences, surely it ought to be abolished. To impose the necessity of the cross in baptism, is not only unsupported by scripture, and wholly founded in superstition, but a dangerous human appendage added to what God has wisely and graciously appointed. And this is not my opinion only, but the opinion of the foreign reformed churches, as appears from the Harmony of Confessions.

A. You are wont to find fault with dumb ceremonies, and you blame those which have any signification. But in the use of the cross, the learned Beza left the churches to their own liberty.

Treasurer. That was wisely done.

T. Beza would not condemn the churches for using the cross, nor oppose their liberty. But his opinion is, that it ought to be abolished; nay, he adviseth the ministers to

forego their ministry, rather than subscribe to the allowance of it.

Leicester. It is a pity that so many of the best ministers, and those who are the most painful preachers, have stood to be deprived for these things.

T. My lord, we acknowledge that the peace of the church ought to be dearer to us than our lives. But with your lordship's favour, I must say, in conscience towards God, and in the duty I owe to her excellent majesty, to your good lordships, and to the whole church and state, that the ministers, in so doing, have acted well. The things to which they were required to subscribe being so grievous, they ought not to have yielded, though they were deprived of their ministry.

A. From the letter of Dr. Ridley, now read to you, you see that he approved of the habits.

S. Mr. Fox, in his "Book of Martyrs," reporteth that Ridley, at his degradation, scorned the habits, saying, "They are foolish and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play."\*

A. You will call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops, as well as many other things.

T. We object against the Prayer Book, because it allows and attempts to justify an insufficient ministry, directly contrary to the word of God. This appears from 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i.

Treasurer. What scripture is there to prove that he who administers the sacraments should also preach?

T. "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. And Jesus Christ having joined these things together, it is not lawful for men to put them asunder. This is not our opinion only, but the opinion and practice of all the foreign reformed churches.

A. The apostolic rule which you have alleged, is an *idea* of a minister.

T. To make it merely an *idea* would overturn the religion of God's word; because, for the same reason, the duties of magistrates, churches, parents, children, and all others, might be made duties merely in *idea*.

Treasurer. That is impossible.

T. If the churches, even in times of bloody persecution, have observed this order, that they who minister the sacraments shall also preach; it cannot be difficult for us in a

\* See Fox's Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 427.

state of peace. (Here the conference closed, and the company departed.)\*

Mr. Strype observes of this conference, that the ministers were convinced of their error, and persuaded to conform; but it is evident he knew not the persons, and he even acknowledges that he never saw the debate.† Mr. Travers continued a decided nonconformist to his death; and Dr. Sparke appeared at the head of the nonconformists at the Hampton-court conference, nearly twenty years after this period.‡

Mr. Travers continued lecturer at the Temple, with Mr. Hooker the new master, about two years, though with very little agreement, the former being a strict Calvinist, and the latter a man of larger principles; after which, he was at length brought into trouble. Many of their sermons were upon points of controversy, relative to the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of the church. The forenoon sermon often spoke the language of Canterbury, and the afternoon that of Geneva.§ Fuller observes of Mr. Travers, "that his utterance was agreeable, his gesture graceful, his matter profitable, his method plain, and his style carried in it the flowings of grace from a sanctified

\* MS. Register, p. 508—514.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 170.

‡ Dr. Thomas Sparke was born at South Somercoates in Lincolnshire, and was chosen perpetual fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford. He was afterwards presented by Lord Gray to the rectory of Bleachley in Buckinghamshire, where he was held in great esteem on account of his piety and diligence. About the year 1575 he became chaplain to Bishop Cooper of Lincoln, who preferred him to the archdeaconry of Stow; but this he resigned "for conscience sake," and contented himself with his parsonage. He was a learned man, a solid divine, well read in the fathers, and much esteemed for his gravity and exemplary life and conversation. He united with the leading puritans in subscribing the "Book of Discipline." For writing a book upon the succession, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, he was brought into trouble; but, on the accession of James, "his majesty gave him a most gracious countenance for what he had done." He died at Bleachley in the year 1616, when his remains were interred in his own church. Wood denominates Dr. Rainolds and Dr. Sparke "the pillars of puritanism, and the grand favourers of nonconformity." But Sparke afterwards renounced his nonconformity, and published a book upon the subject, entitled, "A Brotherly Persuasion to Unity and Uniformity in Judgment and Practice, touching the received and present Ecclesiastical Government, and the Authorized Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," 1607. This was answered by "The Second Part of the Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for refusal of Subscription and Conformity to the Book of Common Prayer," 1608. Also by a work entitled, "A Dispute upon the Question of Kneeling in the Act of receiving the Sacramental Bread and Wine," &c. 1608.—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 290, 351, 352.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 90. Edit. 1665.



heart.”\* This is certainly a very high character from a zealous conformist.

The sermon in the morning was oftentimes controverted in the afternoon, and again vindicated the following Lord’s day. Mr. Hooker, therefore, complained of this usage, when Archbishop Whitgift, without the least warning, silenced Mr. Travers from preaching at the Temple, or at any other place in the kingdom. The manner in which the archbishop proceeded to inflict this heavy sentence, proved no small reproach to his episcopal character, and gave great offence to most men of wisdom and moderation. For as Mr. Travers was ascending the pulpit to preach on the Lord’s day afternoon, Whitgift’s officer served him with a prohibition on the pulpit-stairs; upon which, instead of a sermon, he acquainted the congregation with his suspension, and dismissed them. The reasons given for this proceeding were, “That Mr. Travers was not ordained according to the rites of the church of England.—That he had preached without a license.—That he had broken the orders of the queen, ‘That disputes should not be brought into the pulpit.’”† But the chief reason, says Mr. Strype, was the first.

Mr. Travers, in vindication of himself, presented “A Supplication to the Council,” in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard; and of being silenced, which to him was the most grievous of all, before he was examined, contrary to reason and equity. He then proceeds to answer the objections alleged against him in the prohibition as follows:

“First, it is said, that I am not lawfully called to the ministry, according to the laws of the church of England.

“To this, I answer, that my call was by such methods as are appointed in the national synods of the foreign reformed churches, testimonials of which I have shewn to my lord of Canterbury; so that if any man be lawfully called to the ministry in those countries, I am.

“It is further said, that I am not qualified to be a minister in England, because I am not ordained according to the laws of this country.

“I beseech your lordships to weigh my answer. Such is the communion of saints, that whatever solemn acts are done in one true church of Christ, according to his word, are held lawful in all others. The making of a minister,

\* Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 216.

† Ibid. p. 217.

being once lawfully done, ought not to be repeated. The pastors and teachers in the New Testament hold the same kind of calling that I had. To repeat our ordination would make void our former ordination; and, consequently, all such acts as were done in virtue of it, as baptisms, marriages, &c. By the same rule, all people coming out of a foreign land ought to be rebaptized and married over again. Besides, by the statute of 13 Eliz., those who have been ordained in foreign protestant churches, upon their subscribing the articles therein specified, are qualified to enjoy any benefice in the kingdom, equally with those who have been ordained according to the laws now in force; which, seeing it comprehends all who are priests according to the order of the church of Rome, must necessarily be as favourable to ministers who are ordained among foreign protestants. In consequence of this law, many Scots divines are now in possession of benefices in the church; as was Mr. Whittingham, who, though he was called in question in this case, enjoyed his benefice as long as he lived.

“It is, moreover, said, that I preached without presentation or license.

“To this, I answer, that the place in which I exercised my ministry required no presentation, nor had I a title, nor did I reap any benefit by law; but only received a voluntary contribution, and was employed in preaching only: and as to a license, I was recommended to be minister of that place, by two several letters from the Bishop of London to the gentlemen of the Temple, without which letters, those gentlemen would not have permitted me to officiate.

“I am charged with indiscretion, and want of duty to Mr. Hooker; and with breaking the queen’s order against bringing disputes into the pulpit.

“As to want of duty, I answer, though some have suspected my want of good-will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in that place which I desired for myself; this is a mistake, for I declined the place, because I could not subscribe to my lord of Canterbury’s late articles, which I would not do for the mastership of the Temple, or any other place in the church. I was glad the place was given to Mr. Hooker, as well for the sake of old acquaintance, as because there is some kind of affinity between us, hoping we should live peaceably and amicably together, as becometh brethren. But when I heard him preach against the doctrine of assurance, and for salvation in the church of Rome, with all its errors and idolatry, I thought myself

obliged to oppose him. And when I found it occasioned a pulpit war, *I declared publicly* that I would concern myself no further about it, though Mr. Hooker went on with the dispute.

“It is said that I should have complained of him to the high commission.

“To this, I answer, that it was not out of contempt or neglect of lawful authority; but because I was against all methods of severity; and, therefore, I declared my resolution to trouble the pulpit with those debates no more.

“Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your lordships, that my behaviour has not deserved so severe a punishment as hath been inflicted upon me; and, therefore, I humbly pray that your lordships would restore me to my ministry, by such means as your wisdoms shall think fit: this will lay me under further obligations to pray for your temporal and eternal happiness. But if your lordships cannot procure me this favour, I recommend myself to your lordships’ protection, under her majesty, in a private life; and the church to Almighty God, who in justice will punish the wicked, and in mercy reward the righteous with a blessed immortality.”\*

Mr. Hooker wrote an answer to the above supplication, addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, his patron, in which he takes no notice of Mr. Travers’s ordination, but confines his remarks to his objections against his doctrine; some of which he attempts to refute, and complains in other cases of misrepresentation. “But let all be granted that he would have,” says Mr. Hooker, “what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the high commissioners, and not have refuted me in the pulpit. Schisms and disturbances will arise in the church, IF ALL MEN MAY BE TOLERATED TO THINK AS THEY PLEASE, AND PUBLICLY SPEAK WHAT THEY THINK. Therefore, by a decree agreed upon among the bishops, and confirmed by her majesty, it was ordered, that if erroneous doctrine was taught publicly, it should not be publicly refuted, but complained of to such persons as her majesty should appoint to hear and determine such causes; for the breach of which order, he is charged with want of duty; and all the faults which he alleges against me can avail nothing in his own defence.”†

The lords of the council, to whom Mr. Travers presented

\* Travers’s Supplication, printed 1612.—And annexed to Hooker’s Eccl. Polity. Edit. 1631.

† Hooker’s Answer annexed to Eccl. Polity.



his supplication, did not, however, choose to interfere, but left him wholly to the unmerciful controul of the archbishop, who could never be prevailed upon to remove his suspension, or license him to preach in any part of the kingdom. Mr. Travers had, indeed, many great and powerful friends at court, and even the lords themselves were greatly divided in their sentiments about his case; and all who opposed Whitgift's intolerant measures were his zealous friends. But all power was in the hands of the archbishop, "whose finger," as it is humorously expressed, "moved more in ecclesiastical matters than all the hands of all the council besides; therefore, no favour must be afforded to Travers on any terms."\*

Mr. Travers had a principal hand in writing and publishing the celebrated work, entitled, "*De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo descripta*," commonly called the "*Book of Discipline*." It was designed as a platform of church discipline, and subscribed by Mr. Travers and many of his learned brethren.† It was translated into English, and printed at Cambridge; but the vice-chancellor obtaining intelligence of it, caused the whole impression, or the greatest part of it, to be seized, and announced the same to the chancellor, who communicated it to Archbishop Whitgift: upon which his grace returned the following answer: "That ever since they had a printing press at Cambridge, he feared that this and greater inconveniencies would follow. Though the vice-chancellor was a very careful man, and in all respects greatly to be commended; yet he might be succeeded by one of another temper, not so well affected to the church, and that if he (the chancellor) thought fit to continue that privilege to the university, sufficient bonds with heretics ought to be taken by the printer not to print any books unless they were allowed by lawful authority; for," says he, "if restraint be made *here*, and liberty granted *there*, what good can be done?"‡ This zealous prelate was always a violent enemy to the liberty of the press. It may be proper here to observe, that, in the year 1644, when the Book of Common Prayer was abolished by order of the parliament, the Book of Discipline was republished, and appointed to be observed in all ecclesiastical matters. It was printed under this title, "*A Directory of Government* anciently contended for; and, as far as the time

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 218.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4246.

would suffer, practised by the first nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the study of that most accomplished divine, THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this."

About the time that Mr. Travers was silenced at the Temple, he was invited, together with Mr. Cartwright, to become divinity professor in the university of St. Andrews; which he modestly refused, but returned his humble and thankful acknowledgments for so dignified an offer.\* His celebrity was universally known, both in England and in other countries; therefore, Dr. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, who had been his colleague at Cambridge, and who knew his great worth, invited him to accept the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin. Mr. Travers having no prospect<sup>d</sup> of a restoration to his beloved ministry, or any further public usefulness in his native country, accepted the invitation. He was greatly admired in his new situation, and had for one of his pupils Mr. James Usher, afterwards the famous archbishop of Armagh, who entertained the highest esteem for him. Nor did this esteem wear out by time, or decline by a change of circumstances; for after Usher was preferred to a bishopric, and Travers was grown old and poor, the pious and learned prelate paid him several visits, offering him presents of money, which the good old man thankfully declined to accept.+

Mr. Travers continued provost of the above college several years; but upon the commencement of the wars in Ireland, he was constrained to quit his station, when he returned to England, and spent the remainder of his days in silence, poverty, and obscurity. He was living in the year 1624, as appears from the following curious fact: Mr. John Swan, of Cannock in Staffordshire, a religious man, left in his last will and testament the sum of fifty pounds, to be given, by direction of Mr. Hildersham, to ministers silenced for nonconformity. From a manuscript receipt now before me, it appears that Mr. Travers partook of the bounty. It is in these words: "March 5, 1624, received of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, five pounds, being part of a legacy of John Swan. I say, received by me,

"WALTER TRAVERS."†

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 215, 216.

† Ibid. p. 218.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 431. (12.)

It does not appear how long Mr. Travers survived the above period. He was a learned man, a polite preacher, an admirable orator, and one of the most celebrated divines of the age: but all these excellent endowments could not atone for the single sin of nonconformity. His name is enrolled among the eminent persons and learned divines of Trinity college, Cambridge.\* He gave part of his library, and plate worth fifty pounds, to Zion college, London. Many persons of the greatest respectability were his constant friends. In addition to the lord treasurer, who was his advocate and his patron, we ought not to omit Sir James Altham, a member of parliament, and a person eminent for religion and learning, who manifested the highest esteem for him; as did Sir Edward Cook, a zealous advocate for a further reformation of the church, and a constant patron of the puritans.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Justification of the Religion now Professed in England.—2. An Answer to the Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholics.—3. *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo descripta.*

**HENRY JACOB, A. M.**—This distinguished person was born in Kent, in the year 1563, and educated in St. Mary's-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. Entering upon the ministerial work, he became precentor of Christ's Church, and was afterwards beneficed at Cheriton in his native county; but he quitted his living previous to the year 1591. "He was a person," says Wood, "most excellently well read in theological authors, and a most zealous puritan."‡ About this period, he embraced the principles of the Brownists; though he never carried them to that uncharitable extent which was the worst feature in the character of that people. Upon the general banishment of the Brownists, in 1593, Mr. Jacob retired to Holland,§ but probably returned to England before the year 1597. At this time, the controversy arose about the true interpretation of that article in the apostle's creed, which relates to Christ's descent into hell. Bishop Bilson, in his sermons at Paul's cross, maintained the literal sense of the passage; and affirmed that he went thither not to suffer, but to wrest the keys of hell and death out of the hands of the devil.¶ The

\* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 123.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1628, 1641.

‡ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 394.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 495.

¶ Ibid. p. 502.



bishop's sermons were no sooner published to the world, than Mr. Jacob drew up a reply, entitled, "A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption, written against certain Errors in these points, publicly preached in London," 1598. The two principal points defended by Mr. Jacob, in this treatise, were, "That Christ suffered for us the wrath of God, which we may well term the pains of hell, or hellish sorrows. And that the soul of Christ, after his death on the cross, did not actually descend into hell." In the year 1600, he came forwards in vindication of what he had written on these points, by publishing his "Defence of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption."\*

The writings of Mr. Jacob and other puritans upon this subject, roused the attention and indignation of Queen Elizabeth, who commanded the bishop "neither to desert the doctrine, nor let the calling which he bore in the church of God be trampled under foot by such unquiet refusers of truth and authority."† This, instead of putting them to silence, only awakened them the more, and occasioned Mr. Jacob to publish his "Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption: and of his descent to Hades, or Hel, for our deliverance," 1604. Prior to the publication of this last piece, it appears that Mr. Jacob removed to Amsterdam, where he was engaged in some disputes with the more rigid Brownists. The principal question then agitated, was, "Whether the church of England be a true church." This most of the Brownists denied; but it was affirmed and defended by Mr. Jacob, who was less rigid in his opinions. The particulars of this controversy may be collected from a book entitled "A Defence of the Church and Ministry of England, written in two Treatises against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson," 1599; a circumstantial account of which is given in another place.‡

Mr. Jacob was commonly denominated a semi-separatist. As he did not utterly refuse communion with the church of England; so he rejected all her corruptions. And once, for refusing to kneel at the sacrament, the minister prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical court; and having taken great pains to carry on the prosecution, but with little success, he asked the bishop what he should do, who told him to go home,

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 394, 395.

† Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 311. Edit. 1778.

‡ See Art. Francis Johnson.

and trouble himself no more about it, but leave such kind of work to his churchwardens.\* During the above debates, and about the year last mentioned, Mr. Jacob settled at Middleburg, in Zealand; where he collected a church among the English exiles, over which he continued pastor for several years. Though he considered the church of England to be a true church, he believed there were many things in her discipline and worship, which, savouring too much of the church of antichrist, stood in need of reformation. Accordingly, he published his thoughts upon this subject, in a treatise entitled “Reasons taken out of God’s word and the best human Testimonies, proving a necessity of Reforming our Churches in England,” 1604. In this work he maintains,—1. “The absolute perfection of the holy scriptures, in all matters of faith and discipline, without any human traditions.—2. That the ministry and ceremonies of the church of England stood in need of reformation.—3. That for two hundred years after Christ, the churches of Christ were not *diocesan* churches, but *congregational*.—4. That the New Testament contains a particular form of church government.—5. That this form of church government is not changeable by man; and, therefore, no other form is lawful.” The book was dedicated to King James.†

About the year 1610, Mr. Jacob performed a journey to Leyden, where he enjoyed much familiar intercourse with Mr. John Robinson, and embraced his opinions relative to church government, since known by the name of *Independency*.‡ This change in his sentiments appears to have been the effect of cool and deliberate inquiry; and he published to the world the result of his convictions, in a treatise entitled “The Divine beginning and institution of Christ’s true, visible, and material Church,” 1610. Soon after the publication of this piece at Leyden, he returned to his charge at Middleburg. The following year he drew up another treatise, designed to explain and confirm the former one, entitled, “A Declaration and opening of certain Points, with a sound Confirmation of some others, in a Treatise entitled “*The Divine beginning, &c.*” 1611.§

Mr. Jacob, after being absent several years from his native country, returned to London in the year 1616. There he formed a design of raising a separate congregation, similar to those in Holland; and communicated his intention

\* Paget’s Heresiography, p. 72.

† Strype’s Whitgift, p. 566.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. ii. p. 47, 100.

§ Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 395.

to Mr. Dod, Mr. Throgmorton, and some other learned puritans, who, seeing no prospect of a reformation of the national church, expressed their approbation of his design. He accordingly called several of his friends together, when he obtained their consent to unite in church fellowship for a purer administration of divine ordinances; and it is generally supposed, though Mr. Edwards asserts the contrary,\* that he laid the foundation of the first *independent* or congregational church in England. The method of proceeding on this occasion was as follows:—Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, for the blessing of God upon their undertaking, each member of the society made a public confession of his faith in Jesus Christ. Then standing together, they joined hands, and *solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make known to them.* Mr. Jacob was chosen their pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and proper persons were chosen to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer, and the imposition of hands. About the same time, our divine published “A Protestation or Confession, in the name of certain Christians, shewing how far they agreed with the Church of England, and wherein they differed, with the reasons of their Dissent drawn from Scripture,” 1616. To this was added a petition to the king for the toleration of such christians. This was soon after followed by another piece, entitled, “A Collection of sound Reasons, shewing how necessary it is for all Christians to walk in all the ways and ordinances of God in purity, and in a right way.”†

Mr. Jacob continued with his congregation about eight years; but, in 1624, being desirous to extend his usefulness, he, with the consent of his church, went to Virginia, where he soon after died, aged sixty-one years. Mr. John Lathorp, another distinguished puritan, succeeded him in the pastoral charge of his church in London. In addition to the articles already mentioned, Mr. Jacob was author of the following works:—“A Position against vain-glorious, and that which is falsely called, learned Preaching,” 1604.—“A Christian and modest Offer of Conference with the Prelates,” 1606.—“A Counterpoyson,” 1608.—“A plain and clear Exposition of the Second Commandment,” 1610.

Mr. Jacob had a son of the same name, a man of

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 165.

† Neal's *Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 100, 101.



uncommon erudition, and entirely devoted to literary pursuits, but totally ignorant of the world. He was innocent, harmless, and careless, and lived principally on the benefactions of friends, particularly the celebrated Mr. Selden. He died at Canterbury in September, 1652.\*

**JOHN ROBINSON.**—This celebrated puritan was born in the year 1575, educated in the university of Cambridge, and beneficed near Yarmouth. In the year 1602, a number of people in that part of the country, finding their ministers urged with illegal subscription, or silenced, and themselves grievously oppressed in the ecclesiastical courts; and discovering, at the same time, numerous popish relics and superstitions retained in the church of England, they were led to a total separation from the ecclesiastical establishment, and to organize churches according to their views of the model laid down in the New Testament. They entered into a covenant with each other, “to walk with God and one another, in the enjoyment of God’s ordinances, according to the primitive pattern, whatever it might cost them.” Among the ministers who entered into this association was Mr. Robinson, who became pastor of one of their churches.†

Mr. Robinson and his people having renounced the antichristian yoke, and being resolved to enjoy liberty of conscience, and worship God without the impositions of men, the spirit of persecution came against them with renewed fury. Besides the trial of cruel mockings, they were watched by officers, and often imprisoned, or obliged to flee from their houses and means of subsistence. Under these cruel oppressions they groaned about seven or eight years, assembling together in private houses as they found opportunity. In this deplorable situation, many of them, who were almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts, resolved, with joint consent, to seek an asylum in Holland, where they understood they could enjoy religious liberty. Hard, indeed, was their lot, to leave their dwellings, their lands and relatives, to become exiles in a strange land! Though persecuted, they were not destroyed; though distressed, their zeal and courage did not forsake them; and though in

\* Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 395.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 179. Edit. 1778.

† Morse’s *American Geog.* p. 150. Edit. 1792.—Morse and Parish’s *New England*, p. 6.

trouble, trusting in God, they were not dismayed. They made no disturbance in the state, but were peaceable members of society. Yet, because they could not in conscience submit to unscriptural impositions, nor bow their necks to the yoke of human inventions, they were loaded with heavy fines and forfeitures; nay, hunted about like partridges on the mountains, and persecuted as pests of society.

Though the pastor and his people were determined to remove into the Low Countries, another affliction, still more unreasonable, if possible, presented itself to them. Their enemies watched them continually, and did every thing in their power to prevent their departure. The ports and harbours were narrowly watched; and strict orders were given, by authority, not to suffer them to go. What a painful situation were they in! They were not suffered to live in peace at home, nor allowed to go where they could enjoy peace. They could effect their escape only by secret means, having to bribe the mariners; and even then they were often betrayed, their property seized, and themselves punished. The following facts, extracted from the original record belonging to the church at Plymouth in New England, will shew how distressing was their situation:

A large company, intending to embark at Boston in Lincolnshire, hired a ship, and agreed with the master to take them on board on a certain day, and at an appointed place. They were punctual to the engagement; yet he kept not the day, but finally came and took them on board in the night: then, having previously agreed with the searchers and other officers, he delivered the passengers and goods to them. These persons immediately put them in boats, rifled and searched them even "to their shirts;" and treating the women with indelicacy and rudeness, carried them back to the town, where they were made spectacles of public scorn to the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to behold them. They were then taken before the magistrates, and cast into prison, where they continued for a month, and some of them much longer; while others were bound over to the next assizes.

The following spring Mr. Robinson and his friends made another attempt to get away. They made known their situation to a Dutch captain, and agreed with him to carry them to Holland. He was to take them from a large common between Grimsby and Hull, a place remote from

any town. The women, children, and goods, were sent to the place in a small barque; the men travelled by land; but the barque arriving a day before the ship, the sea being rough, and the women very sick, the seamen put into a small creek. The next morning the ship came, but the barque was aground. That no time might be lost, the captain sent his boat to receive some of the men who were on shore. As the boat was returning for more, the captain saw a great company of horse and foot coming armed from the country; at which he weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and having a fair wind, was soon out of sight. The men on board were thus separated from their wives and children, without a change of garments, or money in their pockets. Tears flowed from their eyes, but tears were in vain. They were soon after tossed in a most terrible storm, and driven on the coast of Norway. They saw neither sun, moon, nor stars, for seven days. The mariners despaired of obtaining relief, and once they supposed the ship actually going down; when, with shrieks and cries, they exclaimed, *We sink, we sink*. The puritan passengers, in this scene of horror and desperation, without any great distraction, cried, "Yet, Lord, thou canst save: yet, Lord, thou canst save;" with similar expressions. The ship soon after recovered herself; the fury of the storm presently abated; and they safely arrived in Holland.

Mr. Robinson and some others of them, having, like valiant generals, remained to see the feeblest safe on board, were left on shore. The men escaped, excepting those who voluntarily stayed to assist the women and children. Here was a scene of distress: husbands and fathers torn from their wives and children, and carried into a foreign country; children crying with fear, and shivering with cold! What could sustain the mother's breaking heart? Charity or humanity would have pitied and cheered the weeping throng! But charity and humanity were not there. Persecution raised her cruel voice, terrible as death; and hurried them from one place to another, from one officer to another, till their enemies were tired of their victory. To imprison so many innocent women and children, would have excited public odium. Homes they had none; for they had disposed of their property. Their unfeeling oppressors were, at length, glad to get rid of them.\*

From these multiplied sufferings the whole company

\* Morse and Parish's New England, p. 7, 8.—Evangelical Magazine, vol. vi. p. 312, 313.



derived much advantage. Their meekness and christian deportment made a favourable and deep impression on the hearts of many spectators, which produced considerable accessions to their number. By courage and perseverance they all finally crossed the sea, and united with their friends, according to the desire of the r hearts, in grateful praises to God. Upon their arrival at Amsterdam, in the year 1608, Mr. Robinson's first concern was to arrange their church affairs in regular order. Mr. John Smyth and his church, having arrived before them, were now involved in contention; and the controversy was carried on with so much warmth, that Amsterdam proved too hot for the gentle spirit of Mr. Robinson; who, with the people of his charge, having continued there about a year, removed to Leyden.\* There they enjoyed the blessing of religious liberty, and, with the leave of the magistrates, hired a meeting-house, and worshipped God publicly in their own way. In this removal, they acted upon the most noble principle: for, though they expected less employment and profit at Leyden than at the capital, they cheerfully sacrificed their worldly interest, in hopes of being more free from temptations, and of peaceably enjoying the blessings of the gospel. Religion was always the first object in all their calculations and arrangements. They engaged in such trades and employments as they could execute, and soon obtained a comfortable subsistence. They had great comfort in each other's society, and great satisfaction in the ordinances of the gospel, under the able ministry of Mr. Robinson. They grew in gifts and graces; and lived in peace, and love, and holiness.†

Mr. Robinson set out on the most rigid principles of Brownism; but having seen more of the world, and conversed with learned men, particularly Dr. Ames, he became more moderate, and struck out a middle way betwixt the Brownists and presbyterians. Though he always maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the reformed churches where he resided, he was far from denying them to be true churches. He even admitted their members to occasional communion, and allowed his own people to unite with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word, though not in the sacraments and discipline. This procured him the character of a *semi-separatist*.‡ He objected against the imposition of the liturgy, the

\* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 24—27.

† Morse and Parish's New England, p. 9.

‡ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 17.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

government of the bishops, and the mixed communion in the church of England; and maintained that every particular church or society of christians had complete power within itself to choose its own officers, to administer all gospel ordinances, and to exercise all needful authority and discipline over its members: consequently, that it was *independent* of all classis, synods, convocations, and councils. "This we hold and affirm," says he, "that a company consisting but of two or three gathered by a covenant to walk in all the ways of God, is a church, and so hath the whole power of Christ. Two or three, thus gathered together, have the same right with two or three thousand: neither the smallness of their numbers, nor the meanness of their persons, can prejudice their rights."\* He allowed the expediency of those grave assemblies for reconciling differences among churches, by giving them friendly advice; but not for exercising any act of authority whatever, without the free consent of the churches themselves.† These are some of the principles by which the *independents* are distinguished in the present day.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation were no sooner settled at Leyden, than their number greatly increased. Many came to his church from various parts of England; and their congregation became so large, that they had three hundred communicants.‡ If at any time the sparks of contention were kindled, they were immediately extinguished; or if any one proved obstinate, he was excommunicated: but this rarely happened. "Perhaps this church," adds our historian, "approached as near the pattern of apostolic churches as any since the first ages of christianity; and this has been its general character to the present time. The integrity and piety of its members procured them esteem and confidence in a land of strangers. Though many of them were poor, when they wished to borrow money, the Dutch would readily take their word, because they always found them punctual to fulfil their engagements. They saw them incessantly laborious in their callings, and therefore preferred them as customers: they found them honest, and therefore gave the preference to their work."§

While these worthy exiles so greatly increased in num-

\* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 39.

† Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. j. p. 73, 74.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 32.—Backus's New Eng. Baptists, vol. i. p. 32.

§ Morse and Parish's New England, p. 9.

bers, they lived in great friendship and harmony among themselves and their neighbours. Though a certain scurrilous writer is pleased to insinuate that by their broils and divisions they were reduced to a very small number ;\* yet nothing can be more directly opposed to the concurrent testimony of the best historians than this account.+ Just before they left the city of Leyden, the magistrates, from the seat of justice, gave this honourable testimony of their worth. In addressing the Walloons, who were the French church, "These English," say they, "have lived among us now these ten years, and we never had any suit or accusation against them, or against any of them."†

Mr. Robinson and his people, having sojourned in a strange land about nine or ten years, began to think of removing to America, but could not accomplish their purpose till the year 1620. Having one great object, the interest of religion, constantly impressed on their minds, and pursuing it with unabating ardour, it was natural for them to think of changing their residence, as new and favourable prospects opened to their view. Considering that they enjoyed the comforts of evangelical instruction only from the courtesy of strangers, they were unwilling to possess so precious a jewel upon so precarious a tenure. Their removal, therefore, was not the effect of a fickle disposition, but the result of undaunted perseverance for the attainment of that great end, which absorbed all other considerations. They were animated with the hope of carrying the gospel to pagan countries, and of becoming instruments of salvation to many souls ready to perish. Numerous other reasons imperiously enforced the measure.§ The business was the subject of mature consideration. They were peculiarly anxious to preserve their religion, and promote its future prosperity, now in danger of being scattered and lost in a strange land. In their own country, they knew there was not the least prospect of a reformation, nor even of a toleration of such as dissented from the national church. After spending many days in solemn addresses to God for direction, it was at length resolved, that part of the congregation should transport themselves to America ; where they might enjoy liberty of conscience,

\* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 54.

+ Morton's New England's Memorial, p. 2.—Morse's American Geog. p. 150.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. i. p. 6.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 3, 4.



and be able to encourage their friends and countrymen to follow them. They, accordingly, sent over agents to England, who, having obtained a patent from the crown,\* agreed with several respectable merchants and friends to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr. Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents sailed into Holland with their own ship, to take in as many as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freighting necessities for the new plantation. All things being in readiness for their departure, Mr. Robinson, with his congregation, observed a day of fasting and prayer, when he preached an excellent sermon from Ezra, viii. 21. *I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He then concluded with the following truly generous and christian exhortation.

“ Brethren,

“ We are now quickly to depart from one  
 “ another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces  
 “ upon earth any more, the God of heaven only knows;  
 “ but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge  
 “ you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow  
 “ me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord  
 “ Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any  
 “ other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever  
 “ you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am  
 “ verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more  
 “ truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my  
 “ part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the  
 “ reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion,  
 “ and will at present go no further than the instruments of  
 “ their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go  
 “ beyond what Luther saw: whatever part of his will our  
 “ good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die  
 “ than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast  
 “ where they were left by that great man of God, who  
 “ yet saw not all things.

“ This is a misery much to be lamented. For though  
 “ they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet

\* Though these adventurers were at great trouble and expense in obtaining his majesty's royal patent, they never made any use of it.—*Prince's Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 65.

“ they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God : but  
 “ were they now living, would be as willing to embrace  
 “ further light, as that which they first received. I beseech  
 “ you, remember it is an article of your church covenant,  
 “ *That you be ready to receive whatever truth may be made*  
 “ *known to you from the written word of God.* Remember  
 “ *that,* and every other article of your sacred covenant.  
 “ But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you  
 “ receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it  
 “ with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it. For  
 “ it is not possible the christian world should come so  
 “ lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that  
 “ perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake  
 “ off the name of BROWNISTS. It is a mere nick-name, and  
 “ a brand for making religion, and the professors of it,  
 “ odious to the christian world.”\*

On July 1, 1620, this small band of christian adventurers, in number one hundred and one,† went from Leyden to Delft Haven, to which place Mr. Robinson and the elders of the church accompanied them. They continued together all night ; and the next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. Robinson kneeled down on the sea-shore, and with fervent prayer, committed them to the protection and blessing of heaven.‡ The leader of this new colony was Mr. William Brewster, a man admirably well qualified for the post which he occupied.§ After the affecting and

\* Neal's New England, vol. i. p. 74—79.

† Neal, by mistake, says their number was one hundred and twenty.—*Ibid.* p. 89.—*Prince's Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 103.—*Evangelical Mag.* vol. vi. p. 314.

‡ Morton's Memorial, p. 6.

§ Mr. William Brewster received a learned education in the university of Cambridge. His first employment was in the service of Mr. Davison, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, with whom he went over to Holland, and was entrusted with affairs of great importance, particularly with the keys of the cautionary towns. He afterwards lived much respected in his own country, till the severity of the times obliged him to return to Holland. He was ruling elder of Mr. Robinson's church previous to its leaving England, and bore his share of hardships with the rest of his brethren. In this office he continued with great honour, during their twelve years truce in Holland. When he was sixty years of age, he had the courage and resolution to put himself at the head of the colony, which peopled New England. They sailed from Delft Haven, July 2, 1620, as observed above ; and after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived at Cape Cod, on the coast of New England, November 9th following. Upon their first settlement, they divided the land by lot, according to the number of persons in each family ; and having agreed upon some general laws, chose a governor, and called the name of the place NEW PLYMOUTH. Inexpressible were the hardships which they underwent during the first winter. The fatigues of

painful separation, Mr. Robinson, as a father in Israel, wrote a most affectionate and faithful letter to the adventurers ; which they received at Southampton, and read to the whole company, to their great comfort and encouragement. In addressing them, he says, “ I am present in my best affections and most earnest longings after you. God knows how willingly and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my first part in this first brunt, were I not held back by strong necessity. Make account of me in the mean time, as a man divided in himself with great pain, having my better part with you. And though I doubt not of your godly wisdom, I think it my duty to add some words of advice ; if not because you *need* it, yet because I *owe* it in love and duty.” He then proceeds to give them the most affectionate and salutary instructions. He urges them to repentance for all known sins, and generally for all that are unknown, lest God should swallow them up in his judgments. He then exhorts them to exercise a holy jealousy and serious watchfulness over their own hearts ; to avoid giving or receiving offences ; to cultivate forbearance and love one towards another ; and to manage all their affairs with discretion, and by mutual agreement. He urges them to have a proper regard for the general good ; to avoid “ as a deadly plague, all private respect for themselves ;” and to shew a due respect and obedience to the magistrates whom they should elect to rule over them. He observes, “ that he would not so far wrong their godly minds as to think them heedless of other things, which he could say ;” and concludes by expressing his earnest and incessant prayers to God for them.\*

Mr. Robinson intended to accompany the remaining part

the late voyage, the severity of the weather, and the want of the necessities of life, occasioned a sad mortality, and swept away half the colony ; and of those who remained alive, not above six or seven at a time were capable of helping the rest. But as the spring returned, they began to recover ; and, receiving some fresh supplies from England, they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America, which afterwards proved a comfortable asylum for protestant nonconformists under all their oppressions. Mr. Brewster shared the fatigues and hardships of the infant colony with the utmost bravery. He was not an ordained minister ; but being a man of considerable learning, eminent gifts, and great piety, he preached to them about seven years, till they could provide themselves with a pastor. He was held in the greatest respect both by the magistrates and the people ; and after suffering much in the cause of the Redeemer, he died in peace, April 18, 1643, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.—*Morton's Memorial*, p. 117, 118.—*Neal's New England*, vol. i. p. 211, 212.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 122.—*Morse and Parish's New England*, p. 7—9.

\* *Morton's Memorial*, p. 6—9.



of his congregation to America; but before he could accomplish his design, it pleased God to remove him to a better world. He died March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. The life of this amiable man, both in public and private, exhibited a fair transcript of those numerous virtues which elevate and adorn the human character. He possessed a strong mind, cultivated by a good education. In his younger days, he was distinguished for good sense and solid learning; and as his mind, under the influence of divine grace, began to expand, he acquired that moderate and pacific temper for which he was celebrated among christians of different denominations. His uncommon probity and diffusive benevolence highly recommended him to the Dutch ministers and professors, with whom he lived in the most perfect harmony. They lamented his death as a public loss; and as a testimony of their esteem and affection, though he was not of their communion, the magistrates, ministers, professors, and many of the citizens, honoured his funeral solemnities with their presence. Mr. Robinson was an admirable disputant; as appears by his public disputation in the university of Leyden, when the Arminian controversy agitated and divided the churches in Holland. The famous Episcopus having given out a public challenge to defend his Arminian tenets against all opponents, the learned Polydore and the chief ministers of the city urged Mr. Robinson to engage in a public disputation. But he, being a stranger, and of so mild and peaceable a spirit, signified his unwillingness; but by their repeated solicitations, he at length consented. "In the issue," our author observes, "he so defended the truth, and so foiled the opposer, putting him to a nonplus in three successive disputations, that it procured him much honour and respect from men of learning and piety."\* The attachment which subsisted betwixt Mr. Robinson and his people was very great. "Such was the mutual love and respect which he had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it was hard to judge whether he was delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor." His death was, therefore, a serious loss to the remaining branch of his church at Leyden. Most of them, however, after a few years, joined their brethren in New England; among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to ninety years of age, and left a posterity in

\* Prince's Chronological Hist. vol. i. p. 38.

the county of Barnstaple.\* Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden was the first INDEPENDENT church since the reformation.

His WORKS.—1. A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, against Bernard, 1610.—2. Remarks on Mr. Smyth's Confession of Faith, 1614.—3. A Treatise on Communion, 1614.—4. People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie, 1618.—5. *Apologia justa et necessaria Christianorum, æque contumeliose ac communitæ dictorum Brownistarum ac Barrowistarum*, 1619.—This was translated in 1644.—6. An Appendix to Mr. Perkins's Six Principles of the Christian Religion, 1641.—He probably wrote some others.

RICHARD STOCK, A. M.—This worthy divine was born in the city of York, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; where, on account of his great ingenuity, industry and progress in learning, he was much beloved by the famous Dr. Whitaker. Leaving the university, he became domestic chaplain first to Sir Anthony Cope, of Ashby in Northamptonshire,† then to Lady Lane, of Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire. Afterwards, he became assistant to Mr. Thomas Edmunds, vicar of Allhallows, Bread-street, London; where his labours were particularly acceptable and useful. He continued for sixteen years to assist Mr. Edmunds, at whose death he accepted the pastoral charge, and continued sixteen years more, even to the end of his days. His labours were made a signal blessing to the people. Great numbers were converted, comforted, and established under his ministry. He was the means of bringing many persons to a saving knowledge of the truth, who afterwards became celebrated ministers of the gospel. Though many ministers preached to others, and not to themselves, Mr. Stock practised what he preached. His life was one uniform practical comment upon his doctrine. He was much beloved, revered and honoured; and always faithful and courageous in reproofing sin.

Mr. Stock having in his younger years preached at Paul's cross, he spoke with considerable freedom against

\* Morton's Memorial, p. 63.—Morse's American Geog. p. 156, 157.—Morse and Parish's New England, p. 30.

† Sir Anthony Cope signalized himself in the cause of religious liberty, and was a constant friend to the persecuted nonconformists. He was burgess for Banbury in Oxfordshire; and, in the parliament of 1586, he offered a bill to the house of commons, to abolish all the penal and disgraceful laws against the puritans, to set aside the Book of Common Prayer, and to adopt a fresh one, not liable to so many exceptions. The bill was warmly supported by several able statesmen, but was rejected by the superiority of the court party.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 377. (4.)

the iniquities of the city ; which some persons took so ill, that they charged him with rashness, and called him *Green-head*. Towards the close of life, having to preach at the election of the lord mayor, he particularly enlarged upon the same topic, and said, " that a *Gray-head* now spoke the same things that a *Green-head* had formerly done." The end of his labours was the beginning of his rest ; and having finished his work, he was called to receive his gracious reward. He died April 20, 1626. He was a person of good learning, excellent talents for the pulpit, and an example to his people in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity.\* Wood denominates him " a constant and judicious preacher, a pious minister, and a zealous puritan and reformer of the profanation of the sabbath."† His remains were interred in Alhallows church, where the following monumental inscription was afterwards erected to his memory :‡

To the sacred MEMORY  
of that worthy and faithful servant of Christ,  
Master RICHARD STOCK ;  
who after thirty-two years spent in the ministry,  
wherein by his learned labours,  
joined with his wisdom,  
and a most holy life,  
God's glory was much advanced,  
his church edified,  
piety increased,  
and the true honour of a pastor's place maintained ;  
deceased April 20, 1626.  
Some of his loving parishioners  
have consecrated  
this Monument of their never-dying love,  
Jan. 28, 1628.

Thy livelesse trunk (O Reverend Stocke)  
Like Aaron's rod, sprouts out again ;  
And, after two full winters past,  
Yields blossoms and ripe fruit amaine.

For why, this worke of piety,  
Performed by some of thy flocke  
To thy dead corps and sacred urne,  
Is but the fruit of this old Stocke.

There was another Mr. Richard Stock, who lived about the same time, rector of Kirk-Eaton in Yorkshire, where he

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 61—66.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 774.

‡ Stow's Survey of London, b. iii. p. 200.



left a standing monument of his piety and charity, by the erection and endowment of a free-school. It does not, however, appear whether he was any relation to our learned divine.\*

HIS WORKS.—1. The Doctrine and Use of Repentance, 1610.—2. A Sermon at the Funeral of John Lord Harrington, 1614.—3. Commentary on Malachi, 1641.—4. Stock of Divine Knowledge, 1641.—5. Truth's Companion.

ANTHONY WOTTON, B. D.—This learned person was born in London, and educated first at Eton school, then at King's college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees. Being a person of considerable reputation, he became fellow of the college, and was for some time chaplain to the Earl of Essex. Upon the death of Dr. Whitaker, in the year 1596, he stood as candidate for the king's professorship of divinity at Cambridge; but Dr. Overall, by a superior interest, carried the election. Mr. Wotton, notwithstanding this, was highly applauded in the university.+

He was, during the above year, chosen first professor of divinity in Gresham college. Also, upon the resignation of his professorship, he was chosen lecturer of Alhallows Barking, London. Here he met with some trouble on account of his nonconformity. Having used this expression, "Lord, open thou the eyes of the king, that he may be resolved in the truth, without respect to antiquity," his words were supposed to insinuate, "that the king was *blind, wavering, and inclined to popery.*"‡ For this, therefore, with some other things, he was silenced by Archbishop Bancroft.§

Mr. Wotton, on account of his views of the doctrine of justification, fell under the displeasure of some of the

\* Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 66.

† Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 152. ‡ Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 39.

§ Archbishop Bancroft was a stout and zealous champion for the church, which, it is said, he learnedly and ably defended to the confusion of its enemies. Clarendon says, "that he had an excellent knowledge of the church; that he almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, that he very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists, and that his death could never be sufficiently lamented." Fuller says, "it is confessed that he was most stiff and stern in pressing conformity, which he did very fiercely throughout all his province." Collier says, "his unrelenting strictness gave a new face to religion. The liturgy was more solemnly observed; the fasts and festivals were more regarded; the use of copes was revived; the surplice generally worn; and all things in a manner recovered to the first settlement under Queen Elizabeth. Some who had formerly subscribed in a loose, reserved sense, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close, unequivocal terms; so that now there

London ministers. His chief antagonist was Mr. George Walker, another zealous puritan, who, having opposed him for some time with great zeal, as a follower of Socinus, charged him with heresy and blasphemy; and sent him a letter, dated May 2, 1614, desiring a conference before eight learned divines to be chosen by both parties. They accordingly met for the purpose; Messrs. Walker, Stock, Downham, Westfield, and Gouge, on the one part; and Messrs. Wotton, Balmeford, Randall, Hicks, and Gataker, on the other. But the matters in dispute not being adjusted at that time, they had a second conference. In order to a better settlement of the points in controversy, Mr. Gataker proposed that Mr. Walker should set down in writing the heretical and blasphemous positions of Socinus, and Mr. Wotton's erroneous assertions as agreeing with them; that when they assembled they might the more readily come to a conclusion. Both parties agreed to the proposal. Upon their second meeting, after some debate, it was their unanimous opinion, that Mr. Wotton had not maintained any heresy or blasphemy whatsoever; which they accordingly subscribed under their own hands. The persons who attended the second conference, and who subscribed this declaration, were those mentioned above, excepting Mr. Baylie in the place of Mr. Westfield.\*

Mr. Wotton was concerned in the controversy with Dr. Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester; who, in a work

was no room left for scruples and different persuasion." Warner says, that he filled the see of Canterbury "with no extraordinary reputation about six years. He was naturally of a rough uncourtly temper, which was heightened by his great authority in the high commission. He had extremely high notions of government in church and state. He was most certainly a greater friend to prerogative than to liberty." By some he was charged with covetousness and want of hospitality, which occasioned the following satire upon his death:

Here lies his grace, in cold clay clad,  
Who died for want of what he had.

According to Rapin, "Bancroft never ceased to plague the puritans, and never ceased incensing the king against them, doing them all the mischief he could. Herein he was too closely imitated by the rest of the bishops, who found a double advantage in destroying the puritans. He is also accused of having been one of the most zealous to instil into the king the maxims of arbitrary power." He is styled "a great persecutor and silencer of hundreds of most godly, conscientious, preaching ministers;" and is said to have lived an evil life, and died a fearful death.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 339.—*Clarendon's Hist.* vol. i. p. 68.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 55, 57.—*Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 687.—*Warner's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 496.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 163, 176.—*Prynne's Antipathie of English Prelacie*, part i. p. 152, 239. Edit. 1641,

\* Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 39.

entitled "Appello Cæsarem," declared himself in favour of Arminianism, and made dangerous advances towards popery. The doctor's book was no sooner published than it met with a host of opponents. Dr. Featly, Dr. Sutcliff, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Burton, Mr. Yates, Bishop Carlton, and Mr. Wotton, sent forth answers to it: \* but the last contained the strongest arguments, and the most solid refutation. "Dean Sutcliff is said to have chode heartily, Mr. Rouse meant honestly, Mr. Burton wrote plainly, Mr. Yates learnedly, Bishop Carlton very piously, but Mr. Wotton most solidly." †

Mr. Wotton did not long survive this last performance; for he died in London, December 11, 1626. He was a great scholar, an excellent preacher, and a zealous advocate for a further reformation of the church. He wrote an elegant Latin style, and is very justly placed among the learned writers of King's college, Cambridge. ‡ Mr. Gataker denominates him, "a worthy servant of God, whom," says he, "I always revered while he lived, as a man deserving of singular respect for his piety, learning, and zeal in the cause of God, which his works do sufficiently manifest, and will testify to posterity. §

**HIS WORKS.**—1. An Answer to a popish Pamphlet of late newly furnished, and the second time printed, entitled, 'Certain Articles or for-

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 442.

† Dr. Richard Montague was a divine who, in the reign of Charles I., zealously promoted arbitrary power; and, for publishing sentiments tending to the disturbance of church and state, he was accused to the commons in parliament, and convened and examined before the bar of the house. The proceedings of the commons displeased the king; for, as Montague was one of his chaplains, he pretended that this was an encroachment upon his prerogative. He expressed his displeasure at the commons, and took occasion, by the instigation of Bishop Laud, the king's most intimate counsellor, to bring the cause before the council, and, by this means, to stop the prosecution. Notwithstanding this, Montague was summoned a second time before the commons, and severely reprimanded. His cause was recommended to the Duke of Buckingham, by Bishops Laud, Buckridge, and Howson, who observed, "That learned men ought to be left to abound in their own sense, it being the great fault of the council of Trent to require subscription to school-opinions." Afterwards, a committee of the commons reported to the house, that Montague's "Appeal," and several other of his pieces, contained erroneous papistical and Arminian opinions, repugnant to the articles of the church of England; among which were the following:—"That the church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrines instituted by God. That images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion. That men justified may fall away, and depart from the state of grace." Notwithstanding these censures, he was promoted by the king to the bishopric of Winchester!—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 121.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 240, 244, 276.

‡ Fuller's *Hist. of Camb.* p. 75.

§ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 40—42.



eible Reasons,' &c., 1605.—2. A Defence of Mr. Perkins's Booke, called, 'A Reformed Catholicke,' against the cavils of a popish writer, one D. B. P. or, W. B. in his 'Deformed Reformation,' 1606.—3. The Tryal of the Roman Clergy's title to the Church, 1608.—4. Sermons on part of Chap. i. of St. John's Gospel, 1609.—5. Runne from Rome; or, the Necessity of separating from that Church, 1624.—6. De Reconciliacioni Peccatoris, 1624.—7. An Answer to a Book, entitled *Appello Cesarem*, written by Mr. Richard Montague, 1626.—8. The Art of Logic, 1626. This last is a translation of Ramus's Logic.

**RICHARD ROTHWELL.**—This learned and zealous puritan was born at Bolton in Lancashire, in the year 1563, and educated in the university of Cambridge. Having spent many years in academical pursuits, he entered upon the work of the ministry, and was ordained presbyter by Achbishop Whitgift. The archbishop, on this occasion, forbade him attempting any interpretation of the types of Moses, the book of Canticles, Daniel, and Revelation; and, at that time, he exactly agreed with his lordship. Though he possessed an amiable natural temper, great intellectual endowments, and other ornamental accomplishments, they were only as so many weapons in the hands of a madman. He continued several years a stranger to religion, when he preached learnedly, but lived in profaneness, addicting himself to hunting, bowling, shooting, and filthy and profane conversation. We are told, that in Lancashire there were two knights at variance with each other; one having a good park, with an excellent store of deer; the other good fish-ponds, with an excellent store of fish; and that he used to gratify himself by robbing the park of the one, and presenting his booty to the other, and the fish-ponds of the other, and presenting the fish to his adversary. On one of these occasions, it is added, the keeper caught him in the very act of killing a buck, when they fell from words to blows; but Mr. Rothwell, being tall and lusty, got the keeper down, and bound him by both his thumbs to a tree, with his toes only touching the ground, in which situation he was found next morning.\* Such were the base follies by which he was gratified in the days of his vanity.

While in the midst of his career in sin, it pleased God, who separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. This change was produced in the following manner: As Mr. Rothwell was

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 67, 68.

playing at bowls on a Saturday, among papists and profane gentlemen, at Rochdale in Lancashire, Mr. Midgley, the grave and pious vicar of the place, came upon the green; and, calling him on one side, expressed his great regret that he was the companion of papists, even on a *Saturday*, when he ought to have been preparing for the exercises of the sabbath: but Mr. Rothwell slighted what he said, and checked him for intermeddling. The good old man, being exceedingly grieved, went home, retired into his study, and prayed earnestly to God for him. Mr. Rothwell had no sooner left the bowling-green than Mr. Midgley's words stuck fast in his conscience. He could find no rest. The day following he went to hear Mr. Midgley preach in Rochdale church, when it pleased God so to bless the word, that he was thoroughly awakened to a sense of his sins. Under his painful convictions he went to Mr. Midgley after sermon, thanked him for his seasonable reproof, and desired his further instruction, with an interest in his prayers. Having continued under spiritual bondage for some time, he at length, by the instrumentality of Mr. Midgley, was made partaker of the liberty of the sons of God; the assurance of which he retained to the end of his days. Though he was often exercised by the severe assaults of Satan, his heavenly Father, in whom he trusted, always made a way for his escape. This important change being effected, Mr. Rothwell gave his worldly estates among his friends, and devoted himself wholly to the ministry of the word, ever esteeming Mr. Midgley as his spiritual father.\*

Mr. Rothwell, having tasted that the Lord was gracious, began to preach the gospel by the assistance of the Holy Ghost. He so unfolded the depths of Satan's devices, and the treachery of the human heart, that he was soon denominated *the rough hewer*. His zealous and faithful ministry was accompanied by the power and blessing of God. When he preached the terrors of the law, sinners trembled, and sometimes cried aloud; and when he preached the glad tidings of the gospel, sweet consolation was applied to their afflicted consciences.

He was chaplain to a regiment under the Earl of Essex, in his expedition against the rebels in Ireland. About the same time, he was induced to examine, with an unbiassed mind, the grounds of conformity to the established church. The result of his impartial investigation was, he became an

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 67, 68.

avowed puritan, and a conscientious nonconformist. He is said to have soon become so deeply versed in this controversy, that he satisfied many, and silenced all who disputed with him. He was so thoroughly fixed in his principles, and in such constant expectation of troubles on account of his conscientious scruples, that he would never marry. His common observation was, *persecution is the pledge of future happiness*. On the same account he would never accept of any benefice, though many rich livings were offered him. He was many years a lecturer at a chapel in Lancashire, and afterwards domestic chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire. During the severe persecutions raised by the bishops, as he enjoyed no living, he had none to lose. He used pleasantly to say, *my head is too big to get into the church*. He was frequently called before the prelates, especially Bishop Neile, with whom he had several contests about nonconformity.\*

By the recommendation of Lady Bowes, afterwards Lady Darcy, a person celebrated for piety and liberality,† Mr. Rothwell removed to Barnard-Castle, in the county of Durham. When the good lady expressed her fears about his going among these rude and fierce people, he replied, “Madam, if I thought I should not meet the devil, I would not go: he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there.” The worthy lady therefore consented, allowing him forty pounds a year; and the people, upon whom God wrought by his ministry, further contributed to his support; but he would not receive a farthing of any others. Being once on a journey, Sir Talbot Bowes made a collection for him among the people, amounting to thirty pounds; but when he came home, he caused it to be returned to the persons who had contributed, saying, “he sought not *theirs* but *them*.”

Upon his first settlement among these rude people, he had many difficulties to encounter: he met with much opposition; and they even sought to take away his life. By faithful perseverance in the duties of his calling, his greatest enemies afterwards feared him; and the blessing of the Lord was so wonderfully poured forth upon his labours, that he seldom preached a sermon which did not bring some poor wandering sinner to God. Many vain gentlemen from a distance

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 69.

† This excellent lady expended one thousand pounds a year in support of destitute ministers. Her preachers were all silenced nonconformists. She obtained liberty for many of them when confined in prison; then sent them into the north, the Peak in Derbyshire, or those places where their labours were most wanted, allowing them a comfortable support.—*Ibid*.



came to hear him, with a view to find fault, make sport, and accuse him; who returned home convinced of their sins, inquiring what they must do to be saved. His labours were so extensively useful, that the change wrought among the people, and the good order of his congregation, became the subject of universal admiration. He was commonly denominated **THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH**.

During Mr. Rothwell's abode at Barnard-Castle, he was deeply afflicted with a complaint in his head; and though he obtained considerable relief, he never perfectly recovered. Having laboured at this place many years, he removed to Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, where he continued preaching to the end of his days. After his removal to this place, he is said to have been concerned in casting out a devil, a curious account of which is given by our author.\* During his last sickness he was deprived of the exercise of his reason, when Mr. Britain, vicar of Mansfield, waited upon him, and inquired what he then thought of conformity. In their conversation, Mr. Rothwell sometimes said one thing, and sometimes another, evidently not knowing what he said. Mr. Britain, however, propagated a report that Mr. Rothwell recanted his nonconformity. This was a most notorious calumny.

At certain intervals during his sickness, his conversation was free, cheerful, and spiritual. His friends inquiring how he did, he said, "I shall soon be well. I shall ere long be with Christ." A brother minister having prayed with him, he smiled and said, "Now I am well. Happy is he who hath not bowed his knee to Baal." He then requested those about him to sing a psalm; and while they were singing his immortal spirit took its flight to sing the song of Moses and the Lamb for ever. He died in 1627, aged sixty-four years. Mr. Rothwell possessed "a clear understanding, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and a ready utterance; and was accounted a good linguist, a subtle disputant, an excellent orator, and a learned divine."†

**JOHN PRESTON, D. D.**—This celebrated divine descended from the Prestons of Preston in Lancashire, was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, in the year 1587, and educated first in King's college, and then in Queen's college, Cambridge. In the latter situation he was pupil to the pious and learned Mr. Oliver Bowles, when he made

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 72—74.

† Ibid. p. 67.

amazing progress in philosophy, and almost every other branch of polite literature. Being of an ambitious mind, and having hopes of high preferment at court, he looked upon the study of divinity as insignificant, and far beneath the attention of a great mind. In the year 1609 he was chosen fellow of his college. The Lord, who designed him to fill an important office in his church, was pleased to frustrate his aspiring thoughts. Being brought to hear Mr. John Cotton at St. Mary's church, the word of God made so deep an impression on his mind, as at once cured him of thirsting after preferment. From this time he became remarkable for true christian piety; and though he had hitherto despised the ministerial work as beneath his notice, he now directed all his studies with a view to that sacred employment.

When King James visited the university of Cambridge, Preston, being a man of such extraordinary learning, was appointed one of the disputants before his majesty. The subject of disputation was, "Whether brutes had reason, and could make syllogisms." He maintained the affirmative; as in the case of a hound, when he comes to a place where three ways meet, he tries one, then another; but, finding no scent, runs down the third with full cry, concluding that as the hare is not gone in either of the two first ways, she must necessarily be gone in the third. The argument, it is said, had so wonderful an effect upon the audience, especially upon the king, that it would have opened a door to his preferment; had not his inclinations to *puritanism* been a bar in the way. Indeed, Sir Fulke Graville, afterwards Lord Brook, was so highly pleased with him, that, in addition to other demonstrations of his peculiar esteem, he settled fifty pounds a year upon him, and continued to be his great friend ever after.\*

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 75—81.—Lord Brook was a most zealous patriot, and an avowed advocate for liberty. On account of the arbitrary measures of Charles I. he determined to seek freedom in America; and he and Lord Say actually agreed to transport themselves to New England; but upon the meeting of the long parliament, and the sudden change of public affairs, they were prevented from undertaking the voyage. He was afterwards commander in the parliament army, and having reduced Warwickshire to the obedience of the parliament, he advanced into Staffordshire. On the festival of St. Chad, to whom the cathedral of Lichfield is dedicated, he ordered his men to storm the adjoining close, to which Lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king's forces. But before his orders could be put in execution, he received a musquet shot in the eye, of which he instantly expired, in the year 1643. It was the opinion of some of the royalists, and especially of the papists,

Preston having renounced all inclinations of preferment, and even the present opportunity of obtaining the royal favour, his conduct became the subject of much speculation. Courtiers, and those aspiring after posts of honour, wondered that he did not embrace the golden opportunity. Perceiving the young man to be void of ambition, and that he rejected all prospect of rising in the world, they began to be jealous of him. But having found the treasure hid in a field, he wisely relinquished every thing for the invaluable purchase. He had the King of kings to serve and honour, which to him appeared infinitely more desirable than any worldly emolument.

From the above act of mortification, good men began to admire him; and their opinion received additional confirmation from the following circumstance:—The king visiting the university a second time, Preston was requested that one of his pupils might support a female character, in a comedy for the entertainment of his majesty; but he politely refused, saying, “I do not like the motion; and I cannot believe his friends intended him to be a player; therefore, I beg to be excused.” This instance of his peculiar care for his pupil greatly advanced his reputation. He was soon accounted one of the best tutors in the university. Many persons of distinguished eminence committed their sons to his tuition. He was particularly careful to train them up in sound religion, as well as good literature.\* Fuller denominates him “the greatest *pupil-monger* ever known in England, having sixteen fellow-commoners admitted in Queen’s college, in one year.”† He was, at the same time, an indefatigable student, refusing to allow himself sufficient rest and sleep. He used to lay the bed-clothes upon himself in such a manner as they would be sure to fall off at an early hour in the night, and so the cold awoke him. This, in time, did irreparable injury to his constitution; but by the use of suitable means his health was again in a great degree restored.

It might be expected that so great a man would become exceedingly popular. When he delivered his catechetical lectures in the college chapel, the place was usually crowded with strangers before the fellows came. This awakened the malice of those who envied his popularity,

that the bullet was directed by St. Chad. Archbishop Laud made a particular memorial of this in his diary.—*Prynne’s Breviate of Laud*, p. 27.—*Granger’s Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 143, 144.

\* Clark’s Lives, p. 82.

† Fuller’s Worthies, part ii. p. 291.



and they lodged a complaint against him to the vice-chancellor, "that it was not safe for Preston to be thus adored, unless they wished to set up puritanism, and pull down the church." An order was therefore issued from the consistory, that the scholars and townsmen should henceforwards confine themselves to their own preachers, and not be allowed, in any case whatever, to attend these lectures in future.\* Such ecclesiastical rigours appeared altogether unnecessary; for there was now very little preaching through the whole university, the two lectures at Trinity church and St. Andrew's being put down, and the lecturers silenced.

Having obtained so distinguished a reputation, he was at length allowed the use of St. Botolph's church, belonging to Queen's college. But here his uncommon popularity exposed him to the resentment of his enemies. Dr. Newcomb, commissary to the Bishop of Ely, coming to the church, was exceedingly offended with the crowd of people assembled;† and he prohibited him preaching, commanding that only evening prayers should be read. The minister of the place, the Earl of Lincoln, and several others, entreated that Preston might be allowed to preach, at least, on that occasion. But Newcomb remained inflexible, and in anger went home, leaving them to have a sermon at their peril. However, Preston was advised to preach; and, as much time had been spent in sending messages to the commissary, he was obliged to omit the prayers before the sermon, in order that the scholars might be at home in time for their college prayers. Next morning Dr. Newcomb hastened to Newmarket, where the court was then held; and brought complaints against him to Bishop Andrews and others; assuring them, that Preston was a nonconformist in heart, and would soon be one in practice; and he was so followed and adored, that, unless some effectual means were speedily used, all conformity would be destroyed, and their authority be trodden under foot. And he added, that Preston was so cunning, that gentle means would not answer the purpose; but he must be seriously and thoroughly handled.‡

The king being now at Newmarket, the complaint was laid before his majesty, who ordered him to be prosecuted. Preston was immediately convened before them, when he spoke in his own defence with great humility and meekness. Bishop Andrews told him, the king was informed that he

\* Clark's Lives, p. 82—84.

† Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 163.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 85.

held all forms of prayer to be unlawful; and, as he was so exceedingly popular, his opinion was likely to do the greater mischief. Preston replied, that this was all a slander; for he believed set forms to be lawful, and he refused not to use them. Upon this, the bishop promised to be his friend, and to procure his release from the present prosecution. Indeed, some of the courtiers wished well to Preston, but were reluctant to undertake his cause. Dr. Young, dean of Winchester, had the boldness and honesty to inform him, that Bishop Andrews was his grand adversary; and that while he gave him kind words and fair promises, he was labouring to have him expelled from the university. This, in fact, appeared too true, from the bishop's own conduct. For, after Preston's frequent attendance upon his lordship, and all to no purpose, an order was issued, that on a certain Lord's day; he should declare his sentiments concerning forms of prayer, before the public congregation in Botolph's church; or, in case of his refusal, undergo a further prosecution.\* This was soon noised abroad; and it was reported that he was required to preach a recantation sermon, which afforded much sport to those who envied his reputation, and sought his disgrace. These, with exultation and triumph, went crowding to hear him. He preached from the same text as before. The whole of the sermon was close and searching; and in the conclusion, he delivered his opinion concerning set forms. All who went to laugh were disappointed. Most persons returned silent home, not without evidence of some good impressions upon their minds. Those who wished his downfall were not quite so merry in the conclusion as at the beginning. Unprejudiced hearers praised all, and were further confirmed in their high opinion of the preacher. His numerous friends were glad he came off so well, and were peculiarly gratified that he was at liberty again to preach. But the event proved extremely galling to men of high church principles.†

\* Dr. Lancelot Andrews, successively bishop of Ely and Winchester, was a man of extensive erudition, and much esteemed by several learned foreigners. He was ranked with the best preachers and completest scholars of his age, but appeared to much greater advantage in the pulpit than he does now in his works; which abound with Latin quotations, and trivial witticisms. He was a person of polite manners and lively conversation; and was celebrated for his dexterity in punning. He was particularly extolled on account of his piety, affability, liberality, and regard for the interests of literature. What a pity then it was that he took any share in the persecution of the puritans.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 347.—*Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher*, p. 364.

† Clark's Lives, p. 85—88.

Preston, having acquitted himself with great honour, was afterwards appointed to preach before the king, which he performed to the admiration of his audience. He was endowed with a fluent utterance, a commanding elocution, and a strong memory, delivering what he had prepared without the use of notes. At the close of the service, his majesty expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the sermon, especially with his observation relative to the Arminians, "That they put God into the same extremity as Darius, when he would have saved Daniel, but could not." The Marquis of Hamilton earnestly recommended to his majesty that Preston might become one of his chaplains, declaring that he was moved to this entirely from the excellency of the sermon. He told the king, that the preacher spoke no pen and ink-horn language, but as one who comprehended what he said, and must, therefore, have in him something substantial. The king acknowledged all, but said it was too early: he remembered the Newmarket business; and so was reserved.

About this period Preston went abroad, and visited several of the foreign universities, by which he obtained much literary advantage. Having spent some time among learned men on the continent, he returned home, when his popularity at court became almost universal. He rose to so high a degree of reputation, that he was told he might be chaplain to whom he pleased. The Duke of Buckingham, not knowing what friends he might want, persuaded the King to appoint him chaplain in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.\* In the year 1622, he was chosen preacher at Lincoln's-inn, London, and, upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, when he took his doctor's degree. The Duke of Buckingham highly esteemed him, and hoped by his means to ingratiate himself with the puritans, whose power was then growing formidable in parliament. Good men rejoiced to see that honest men were not all despised. The courtiers, particularly the duke, signified that he would now mount from one step to another, till he became a bishop. The Earl of

\* The king used to call the duke *Stenny*, on account of his fine face, alluding to Acts vi. 15.—It was a pleasant remark of his majesty; who said, "That Stenny had given him three notable servants: a gentleman of the bed-chamber, (Clarke) who could not help him to untruss a point; for he had but one hand. A chaplain, (Dr. Preston) who could not say prayers; for he scrupled the use of the liturgy. And a secretary of state, (Sir Edward Conway) who could neither write nor read."—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 199.



Pembroke, and the Countess of Bedford, had a great interest in him; and all looked upon him as a rising man, and respected him accordingly. Some of the courtiers, however, had a jealous eye upon him; for all saw that he came not to court for preferment, as did most others.\*

In the year 1624, Dr. Preston was invited to become lecturer at Trinity church, Cambridge; for which there was a strong contest betwixt him and Mr. Micklethwait, fellow of Sidney college, and a very excellent preacher. The contest in voting for the new lecturer was so great, that it could not be determined without the hearing of the king, who was opposed to the doctor's preaching at Cambridge. As an inducement to drop the contest, he was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, then void; and the Duke of Buckingham further urged, that, as the lecture was supported by *six-penny subscriptions*, it was a thing unseemly to the master of a college, and the chaplain of the prince. But the duke was resolved not to lose him, and, therefore, took care that nothing was determined contrary to the doctor's wishes. Sir Edward Conway told him, that if he would give up the contest for the lecture, and let it be disposed of some other way, his majesty had authorized him to say, "that he should have any other more profitable and honourable preferment he might desire." But the doctor's chief object was to do good to souls, not to obtain worldly emolument: the king's was to render him useless, and divide him from the puritans.+ When, therefore, it appeared that nothing would allure him from the object of his wishes, or be a sufficient compensation for this noble sphere of public usefulness, he was confirmed in the lecture, being his last preferment, which he held to his death. This celebrated divine thus generously preferred a situation of eighty pounds a year, with the prospect of extensive usefulness to souls, to the bishopric of Gloucester, or any other preferment in the kingdom.

He obtained great celebrity by the learned productions of his pen. His writings are numerous, and most of them admirable for the time. The pious and learned Bishop Wilkins gives an high character of his excellent sermons.‡ In his "Treatise on the New Covenant," his method is highly instructive; and his manner familiar and insinuating, yet very clear. He abounds in apt similes and illustrative

\* Clark's Lives, p. 89—95.

+ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 163, 164.—Clark's Lives, p. 96, 97.

‡ Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

instances, generally well supported and applied. His doctrine drops as the rain, and his speech distils as the dew.\*

Dr. Preston was a divine of extraordinary abilities and learning, and, about this time, deeply engaged in public controversy with several learned Arminians. He was called to take a leading part in two public disputations, procured by the Earl of Warwick, and held at York-house, in the presence of the Duke of Buckingham and others of the nobility. The first of these contests was betwixt Bishop Buckridge and Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, on the one part; and Bishop Morton and Dr. Preston, on the other. In the conclusion, the Earl of Pembroke observed, "that no person returned from this learned disputation of Arminian sentiments, who was not an Arminian before he came." The second conference was betwixt Dr. White and Mr. Montague, on the one part; and Bishop Morton and Dr. Preston, on the other. On this occasion, Preston is said to have displayed his uncommon erudition and powers of disputation, to the great advantage of the cause which he undertook to support.†

This celebrated divine, by his great interest in the Duke of Buckingham and the Prince of Wales, was of unspeakable service to many of the silenced ministers. He was in waiting when King James died, and came up with King Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, in a close coach, to London. The young king is said to have been so overcharged with grief, on account of the death of his father, that he wanted the comfort of so wise and so great a man.‡ The duke offered Dr. Preston the *broad seal*, but he was too wise to accept it. Afterwards the duke, changing measures, and finding he could neither gain the puritans to his arbitrary designs, nor separate the doctor from their interests, resolved to bid adieu to his chaplain. Dr. Preston saw the approaching storm, and quietly retired to his college, where it was expected he would have felt some further effects of the duke's displeasure, if providence had not so ordered things, that he had other work to mind, which took up all his time and thoughts to the day of his death.§

\* Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 453.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 124, 125.—Clark's Lives, p. 101—105.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 19.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 131.—Clark's Lives, p. 106—109.—The Duke of Buckingham was the great favourite of King James and Charles I., over whom he had the highest ascendancy. It is no wonder that an

Dr. Preston possessed a strong constitution, which he wore out by hard study and constant preaching. His inquiry was not, "How *long* have I lived?" but, *how* have I lived?" Desiring, in his last sickness, to die among his old friends, he retired to Preston, near Heyford, in his native county; and having revised his will, and settled all his worldly affairs, he committed himself to the wise and gracious disposal of his heavenly Father. As he felt the symptoms of death coming upon him, he said, "I shall not change my company; for I shall still converse with God and saints." A few hours previous to his departure, being told it was the Lord's day, he said, "A fit day to be sacrificed on! I have accompanied saints on earth: now I shall accompany angels in heaven. My dissolution is at hand. Let me go to my home, and to Jesus Christ, who hath bought me with his precious blood." He afterwards added, "I feel death coming to my heart. My pain shall now be turned into joy;" and then gave up the ghost, in the month of July, 1628, being only forty-one years of age. His remains were interred in Fausley church, when the venerable Mr. Dod preached his funeral sermon to an immense crowd of people.\* Fuller, who has classed him among the learned writers of Queen's college, Cambridge, says, "he was all judgment and gravity, and the perfect master of his passions, an excellent preacher, a celebrated disputant, and a perfect politician."† Echard styles him "the most celebrated of the puritans, an exquisite preacher, a subtle disputant, and a deep politician."‡

His WORKS.—1. Treatise on the New Covenant; or, the Saints' Portion, 1629.—2. Breast-plate of Faith and Love, 1630.—3. Sermons before the King, 1630.—4. Eternal Life; or, a Treatise of the Knowledge of the Divine Essence and Attributes, 1631.—5. The Lifeless Life, 1635.—6. A Discourse of Mortification and Humi-

accumulation of honour, wealth, and power, conferred upon a vain man, who was suddenly raised from a private station, should be particularly invidious: and, especially, as the duke was as void of prudence and moderation in the use of these, as his masters were in bestowing them. Most men imputed all the calamities of the nation to his arbitrary councils; and few were displeased at the news of his death. Such a pageant and tyrant as this, decorated with almost every title and honour that two kings could bestow upon him, was sure to be the butt of envy. He was murdered by Felton, August 23, 1628.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 326. ii. 114.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 151.

\* Clark's Lives, p. 113.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 90.—Worthies, part ii. p. 291.—Church Hist. b. xi. p. 131.

‡ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 72.



liation, 1635.—7. *Spiritual Life and Death*, 1636.—8. *Judas's Repentance*, 1637.—9. *The Saints' Spiritual Strength*, 1637.—10. *The Saints' Qualification and Remains*, 1637.—11. *Sermons*, 1637.—12. *The Golden Sceptre, with the Church's Marriage and the Church's Carriage*, 1639.—13. *Divine Love of Christ*, 1640.

**JOB THROGMORTON** was a zealous and active puritan, descended from the family of Throgmortons of Coughton in Warwickshire. He was a man of good learning, and master of a very facetious and satirical style; and is said to have been one of the authors of those writings which went under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*;\* but, as the real authors were never discovered, the charge is without foundation. Dr. Sutcliff, a scurrilous and an abusive writer, published many reproaches against Mr. Throgmorton, charging him with being concerned in the wicked plots of Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington. In reply to the misrepresentations of this opponent, he, about the year 1594, published a work, entitled, “*A Defence of Job Throgmorton against the Slanders of Matthew Sutcliff.*” Notwithstanding this, he was indicted and tried at Warwick, on a supposition of being concerned with the above conspirators; but was acquitted. He was innocent, and therefore he deserved to be acquitted. “A reverend judge in this land,” observes Mr. Peirce, “told my lord chancellor, that the matter of the indictment passed against Throgmorton at Warwick, was, in truth, but a frivolous matter, and a thing that he would easily avoid. And the lord chancellor said, not only in his own house, but even to her majesty, and openly in the parliament, that he knew the said Job Throgmorton to be an honest man.”†

Mr. Throgmorton was a man of high reputation, and a pious and zealous preacher of the word; but labouring, in the decline of life, under a consumption, and being oppressed with melancholy apprehensions about the safety of his state, he removed to Ashby, near Fausley, in Northamptonshire, to enjoy the counsel and advice of the venerable Mr. John Dod. A little before he died, he asked Mr. Dod, saying, “What will you say of him who is going out of the world, and can find no comfort?” “What will you say of our Saviour Christ,” replied Mr. Dod, “who, when *he* was going out of the world, found no

\* Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 550.—Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 279.

† Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 142.

comfort, but cried, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" This administered consolation to Mr. Throgmorton's troubled mind, and he departed soon after, rejoicing in the Lord.\* He is denominated "as holy and as choice a preacher as any in England;" and is said to have lived thirty-seven years without a comfortable assurance, and then died, having assurance only an hour before his departure.+ He died in the year 1628.† Sir Clement Throgmorton, a man of great learning and eloquence, and a member of parliament for the county of Warwick, was his son.§

THEOPHILUS BRADBURN was minister at some place in Norfolk, and a zealous old puritan.|| He was of strict sabbatarian principles, and zealously maintained the necessity of observing the seventh day as the christian sabbath. In the year 1628, he published a book entitled, "A Defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath-day," which he dedicated to the king. In this work he maintained, "That the fourth commandment, *Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy*, was entirely moral, and of indispensable obligation to the end of the world:—that the seventh day in the week ought to be observed as an holy day in the christian church, as it was among the Jews before the coming of Christ:—and that it was superstition and evil-worship to observe the Lord's day as the sabbath, seeing there was no command for it."¶ For these opinions, says Fuller, "He fell into the ambush of the high commission, whose well-tempered severity so prevailed with him, that, submitting to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, and quietly conformed to the church of England," so far as concerned the sabbatarian controversy.\*\*

The publication of Mr. Bradbourn's book roused the jealousy and indignation of the court; therefore, by the command of the king, and under the direction of Archbishop Laud, Dr. White, bishop of Ely, undertook a

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 172.

† Brooks on Assurance, p. 39. Edit. 1810.

‡ MS. Remarks, p. 494.

§ Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 654. Edit. 1730.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 333.

¶ Paget's Heresiography, p. 161. Edit. 1662.

\*\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 144.

refutation of it, entitled, "A Treatise of the Sabbath-day: containing a Defence of the Orthodoxall Doctrine of the Church of England, against Sabbatarian Novelty," 1635; which he dedicated to the archbishop. In this dedication he gives the following account of Mr. Bradbourn:—"A certain minister in Norfolk," says he, "proceeding after the rule of the presbyterian principles, among which this was the principal: 'That all religious observations and actions, and the ordaining and keeping of holy days, must have a special warrant and commandment in holy scripture, otherwise the same is superstitious;' concluded, that the seventh day of every week, having an express command in the decalogue, by a precept simply and perpetually moral; and the Sunday being not commanded, either in the law or the gospel; therefore the Saturday must be the christian's weekly sabbath, and the Sunday ought to be a working day.

"This man," his lordship adds, "was exceeding confident in his way, and defied his adversaries, loading them with much disgrace and contempt. He dedicated his book to the king's majesty himself, and implored his princely aid to set up the ancient sabbath. He likewise admonished the reverend bishops of the kingdom, and the temporal state, to restore the fourth commandment of the decalogue to its original possession. He professed that he would suffer martyrdom, rather than betray such a worthy cause, so firmly supported by the common principles of all who have in preaching or writing treated of the sabbath. While he was in this heat, crying in all places where he came, *victory, victory*, he chanced to light upon an unkind accident: which was to be convened and called to an account before your grace (meaning Laud) and the honourable court of high commissioners. At his appearance, your grace did not confute him with fire and fagot, with halter, axe, or scourging; but according to the usual proceedings of your grace, and of that court, with delinquents who are overtaken with error in simplicity. There was yielded unto him a deliberate, patient, and full hearing, together with a satisfactory answer to all his main objections.

"The man perceiving," his lordship further observes, "that the principles which the sabbatarian dogmatists had lent him, were not orthodox; and that all who were present at the hearing approved the confutation of his error; he began to suspect that the holy brethren who had lent him his principles, and yet persecuted his conclusion, might perhaps be deceived in the first, as he had been in the last.



Therefore, laying aside all his former confidence, he submitted himself to a private conference; which by God's blessing so far prevailed, that he became a convert, and freely submitted himself to the orthodox doctrine of the church of England, concerning both the sabbath and the Lord's day."

This reverend prelate, in writing against one of the puritans, could not help following his passions or his ignorance, by ungenerously, and with great falsehood, reproaching them as a body. Within the compass of a few pages he stigmatizes the puritans "a new presbyterian sect—these zealots—these senators—these ecclesiastical senators—these novel senators—these presbyterian senators—these presbyterian rulers—these presbyterian dictators—these presbyterian backbiters."\*

**WILLIAM HINDE, A. M.**—This pious divine was born at Kendal in Westmoreland, in the year 1569, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was chosen perpetual fellow. He was highly respected and beloved by Dr. John Rainolds, whose doctrine made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he became the doctor's great and constant admirer. About the year 1603, he left the university, and became minister of Bunbury in Cheshire, where he continued to the end of his days. He was a minister highly esteemed, and, on account of his great piety and frequent preaching, was much followed by persons of serious godliness. The Oxford historian denominates him "a close and severe student, an eminent preacher, and an excellent theological disputant;" and observes, that he had several contests with Dr. Morton, bishop of Chester, about conformity, being esteemed the *ringleader of the nonconformists* in that county.† Having endured many troubles in the cause of puritanism, he died at Bunbury, in the month of June, 1629, aged sixty years; and his remains were laid in the chancel of his own church.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The office and use of the Moral Law of God in the days of the Gospel, justified and explained at large by Scriptures, Fathers, and other Orthodox Divines, 1623.—2. A faithful Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, in the county of Chester, Esquire, 1641.—3. Path to Piety, a Catechism.—He also revised, corrected, and published Dr. Rainolds's "Discovery of the Man of Sin," 1614. And Mr. Robert Cleaver's "Exposition on the last Chapter of Proverbs," 1614.

\* White's Treatise, Dedica.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 456, 457.—Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3181. Edit. 1747.

**WILLIAM PINKE, A. M.**—This learned person was born in Hampshire in the year 1599, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Soon after he entered upon the ministerial work he was chosen reader of philosophy in Magdalen college, which he performed with great admiration and applause. In the year 1628 he was chosen fellow of the college. He was accounted a person of close studies, exemplary piety, a strict conversation, and a thorough puritan. Wood says, "he possessed a singular dexterity in the arts, a depth of judgment, an acuteness of wit, and great skill in the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages, for which he was much noticed and revered by the collegians."\* He died much lamented in the year 1629, aged thirty years. His remains were interred in Magdalen college chapel. He wrote "The 'Trial of a Christian's sincere Love to Christ, in four sermons," 1630. This was often printed. He left behind him numerous manuscripts ready for the press, though probably they were never printed.

**SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, D. D.**—This learned divine was born at Prestbury in Gloucestershire, August 12, 1569, and educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, where he was afterwards chosen fellow. In 1599 he was elected reader of rhetoric to the college, and the year following admitted to the reading of the sentences. In 1608 he took his doctor's degree, and in about five years was chosen Margaret professor to the university. He filled the divinity chair with distinguished reputation for the space of fourteen years, then resigned it, and retired to the rectory of Messey-Hampton in Gloucestershire, where he spent the remainder of his days in great retirement and devotion. Some persons accused him of being a schismatic, most probably on account of his puritanism and nonconformity. But Dr. Ravis, bishop of London, acquitted him of the imputation, declaring him to be free from schism, and abounding in science. Wood says, "he was so excellent a scholar, disputant, and theologian, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarcely his equal in the university. He was a person of admirable piety, strictness, and sincerity; a lover of the opinions of John Calvin, especially that of predestination, and was denominated a downright doctrinal

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 463.

**Calvinist."** He was always fond of a retired and sedentary life, which rendered him less easy and affable in conversation.\* He died August 24, 1630, aged sixty-one years.

**His Works.**—1. *Doctrinæ Christianæ Sex capita, totidem prelectionibus in Schola Theol. Oxon pro forma habitis, discussa, et disceptata*, 1610.—2. *Appendix ad caput secundum de conciliis evangelicis*, 1610.—3. *Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxon, being K. James's Inauguration day*, 1611.—4. *Eight Sermons publicly preached in the University of Oxford*, 1614.—5. *The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered, and other Christian Doctrines, delivered in twelve sermons upon part of the tenth Chap. of the Epis. to the Hebrews*, 1615.—6. *Commentary or Exposition upon the first Chap. of Amos*, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, 1613. Translated into Latin by Mr. Henry Jackson, 1615.—7. *Christian Liberty*, 1613.—8. *A Latin Sermon, on Rev. v. 10.*, 1616.—9. *Prelectiones de Perseverantia Sanctorum*, 1618.—10. *The Haven of the Afflicted*, 1620.—11. *Commentary or Exposition upon the second Chap. of Amos*, 1620.—12. *Commentary or Exposition upon the third Chap. of Amos*, 1629.

**ROBERT BROWN.**—This very singular person was born at Tolethorp in Rutlandshire, and descended from an ancient and honourable family. He was nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and his grandfather, by charter from Henry VIII., obtained the singular privilege of wearing his cap in the king's presence. He received his education in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and preached sometimes in Bennet church, where the vehemence of his delivery gained him considerable reputation.† Afterwards, he became a schoolmaster in Southwark, London, then a lecturer at Islington, and domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. Having embraced the principles of the puritans, he resolved to refine them, and produce a scheme more perfect of his own. He openly inveighed against the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England, which he held up to the people as antichristian.

In the year 1571, Mr. Brown was cited before Archbishop Parker and the other high commissioners at Lambeth, undoubtedly on account of his nonconformity. His noble patron warmly espoused his cause; disregarded the summons; and resolved to protect his chaplain, as exempt from their lordships' jurisdiction. The stern archbishop and his colleagues, however, shewed their resolution to proceed against him. They wrote to the duke, signifying, that if he

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 467.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 166, 167.



still persisted in detaining his chaplain, they must and would make use of other means: but what other methods they used, or what ecclesiastical censure was inflicted upon Brown, we have not been able to ascertain.\*

In the year 1581 he settled in the city of Norwich, where he was employed in the stated exercise of his ministry; and many of the Dutch, who had there a numerous congregation, imbibed his principles. Growing confident by success, he called in the assistance of one Richard Harrison, a country schoolmaster, and planted churches in different places.† He did not, however, remain long unnoticed. For during the above year, he was convened before Bishop Freake of Norwich, and other of the queen's commissioners, and committed to the custody of the sheriff of the county, by whom he was for some time detained a prisoner.‡ Also, in the same year, the celebrated judge Anderson discovered the warmth of his zeal against Brown; for which Bishop Freake wrote to the treasurer Burleigh, desiring he might receive the thanks of the queen.§ Whether the treasurer laid the case before her majesty we cannot learn; but by his kind intercession Mr. Brown was at length released from prison, when he left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburg, in Zealand. There, by leave of the magistrates, he formed a church according to his own model, which is explained in a book he published in 1582, entitled, "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, who will not reform them and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them. By me, Robert Brown." After continuing a short time at Middleburg, his people began to quarrel so violently, and divide into parties, that Brown grew weary of his office, and returned to England in 1585. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he was convened before Archbishop Whitgift, and required to give his answer to certain things published in one of his books; but the archbishop having by force of reasoning brought him to a submission, he was dismissed a second time by the intercession of the lord treasurer. He went to his father's house; but his father was soon tired of him, and abandoned him to a wandering course of life, and discharged him from his family, saying, "that he would not own him

\* Strype's Parker, p. 326, 327.

† Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 581.

‡ Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 298, 299.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 180. Edit. 1773.

for a *son*, who would not own the church of England for his *mother*.”\* After travelling up and down the country, preaching against the laws and ceremonies of the church, he went to reside at Northampton. Here his preaching soon gave offence, and he was cited before Bishop Lindsell of Peterborough, who, upon his refusing to appear, publicly excommunicated him for contempt. The solemnity of this censure made such an impression upon Brown, that he renounced his principles of separation, and having obtained absolution, he was, about the year 1592, preferred to the rectory of Achurch, near Oundle in Northamptonshire.† Upon his promise of a general compliance with the church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinsman, the Earl of Exeter prevailed upon the archbishop to procure him this favour.

Mr. Brown having obtained a settled and permanent abode, allowed a salary for another person to discharge his cure; and though, according to our author, he opposed his parishioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tithes. He was a person of good parts and some learning, but his temper was imperious and uncontrollable; and so far was he from the sabbatarian strictness espoused by his followers, that he seemed rather a libertine than otherwise. “In a word,” continues our historian, “he had a wife with whom he never lived, a church in which he never preached, and as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end.” For being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding the payment of certain rates; and being beloved by nobody, the officer summoned him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice, in whose presence he behaved with so much insolence, that he was committed to Northampton gaol. The decrepid old man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed in a cart; where, not long after, he sickened and died, in 1630, aged upwards of eighty years, boasting, “that he had been committed to *thirty-two* prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon day.”‡ Such was the unhappy life and tragical end of Robert Brown, founder of the famous sect, from him called BROWNISTS. He lived in a little thatched house at Thorp Waterville, which was still subsisting in the year 1791, and

\* Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 167.

† Collier’s Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 582.

‡ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 168, 169.

inhabited by a tenant of the Earl of Exeter.\* Though Fuller does not believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, several of our historians assert that he conformed, and became an obedient son of the church of England, to which he appears to have been tempted by the above valuable benefice.+ If he conformed to the national church, he does not properly belong to the list of puritans, though it was requisite to give some account of him.

His WORKS, in addition to the article already mentioned.—1. A Treatise upon the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also for avoiding the Popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.—2. A Book which sheweth the life and manner of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks, and Papists, and Heathen folk. Also the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their several definitions and divisions following.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON, A. M.—This excellent minister was born in the year 1587, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards became pastor of one of the churches in Leicester. His preaching was truly evangelical, and multitudes from all quarters flocked to hear him. The great object of his ministry was to produce that change of heart, and holy rectitude of conduct, without which no man can see the Lord. The effect, through a divine blessing, was such as might be expected. A remarkable revival of religion was the reward of his labours, and many were effectually turned from sin to holiness; but, in the midst of his usefulness, he was deprived on account of his nonconformity. For some years after his settlement at Leicester, he continued a strict conformist; but, upon his acquaintance with Mr. Hildersham and Mr. Hooker, he was induced to study the controversy about ecclesiastical matters. He searched the scriptures, together with the earliest antiquity; and as he searched, the more he became dissatisfied with the inventions of men introduced into the worship of God. From his own impartial examination, therefore, and the clear evidence of truth, he became a decided and conscientious nonconformist. At this time the weight of his influence burst forth; and the

\* Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 366.

+ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 168.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 582.



arm of ecclesiastical power could not obscure the lustre of his talents. Such were the pathos and enchanting eloquence of his ministry, that the people could not be denied the benefit of his instructions. "He was unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." The people obtained liberty for him to preach a lecture on one part of the sabbath, and on the other to aid an aged minister, who stood in need of assistance. They supported him by their own voluntary subscription; and such was his reputation, that, while it was safe, all the conformist ministers in the town invited him into their pulpits. He also preached to another congregation in the church at Belgrave, a village near Leicester. His labours and usefulness were thus expanded. This, indeed, was through the connivance of the generous and worthy Bishop Williams of Lincoln;\* and continued till Laud became bishop of London, when he determined to extirpate all nonconformists.

As it often happens in other cases, so it did in this; while one part of the community was delighted and encouraged in the practice of religion, another part, feeling themselves rebuked and condemned by his preaching, became more violent opposers, and more cruel persecutors. Mr. Higginson openly avowed his opinion, that ignorant and immoral people ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table. Accordingly, having preached a sermon from this text, "Give not that which is holy to dogs;" and being about to administer the sacrament, he saw a known swearer and drunkard before him, to whom he publicly said, "he was not willing to give the Lord's supper to him, until he professed his repentance to the satisfaction of the brethren, and desired him to withdraw." The man went out in a rage against Mr. Higginson, and, with horror in his conscience, was immediately taken sick, and soon after expired, crying out, "*I am damned.*" Another profane person being offended with his wife for attending upon Mr. Higginson's

\* This very learned and religious prelate was a constant friend to the persecuted puritans, many of whom, as will appear from the present work, he protected from the intolerant proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. We have given a particular account in the introduction, of the barbarous persecution he endured from Archbishop Laud and his associates. He was greatly admired for his deep penetration, solid judgment, and his wonderful memory, which was deemed almost a miracle. His parts were very extraordinary; and his constitution still more extraordinary than his parts; for, notwithstanding his hard study, and a multiplicity of business, he never required more than three hours sleep.—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 154.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 355.

ministry, vowed revenge against him. Accordingly, he resolved on a journey to London, to complain against him in the high commission court. All things being ready for his journey, as he was mounting his horse, he was seized with insupportable pain of body, and most dreadful horrors of conscience; and being conducted into the house, died in a few hours.\*

During Mr. Higginson's abode at Leicester, a clergyman lived in the town who was a doctor in divinity, a prebendary in a cathedral, and chaplain to his majesty; but very seldom preached. Indeed, when he did preach, he discovered so much ostentation, that the people mostly attended upon Mr. Higginson's edifying preaching, rather than his affected and empty harangues. This greatly displeased the doctor, who embraced every opportunity of expressing his resentment and indignation against Mr. Higginson; and declared he would certainly drive him out of the town. This doctor was nominated by the sheriff to preach the assize sermon, and had three months notice to make preparation. During the whole of this period, he was, however, unable to provide a sermon to his own satisfaction. About a fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed his fears of ever being provided; when his friends urged him to attempt it again; and signified, that, if there was no other alternative, Mr. Higginson, being always ready, might be procured. The doctor, being exceedingly averse to the last proposal, studied with all his might to prepare an agreeable sermon, but without success. So the very night preceding the assize, he got a friend to prevail upon Mr. Higginson to supply his place; which he did, to the great satisfaction of the audience. Afterwards, when all the circumstances were known, and become the common topic of conversation, the doctor was so mortified and confounded, that he left the town, declaring he would never come into it any more. While Mr. Higginson, therefore, continued highly respected in the place, the learned doctor was driven out.†

Mr. Higginson was afterwards chosen by the mayor and aldermen to be the town-preacher. He thanked them for the honour which they conferred upon him; but, because he could not with a good conscience conform, he declined the offer, recommending to them Mr. John Angel, then a

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 71, 72.

† Ibid. p. 72, 73.

conformist, but a good man, whom they accepted. Indeed, several rich livings were offered him; but, as his nonconformity was growing upon him, he modestly refused them all. He could never sacrifice truth and a good conscience to obtain any worldly emolument whatever. Mr. Higginson was very useful in the education of young men, many of whom afterwards became famous in their day. Among these were Dr. Seaman, Dr. Brian, and the excellent Mr. John Howe, all noted for their learning, moderation, and nonconformity. At length, however, when Laud was translated to London, complaints were exhibited against him in the high commission court, and he was in continual expectation of being dragged away by pursuivants, when perpetual imprisonment was the least he expected.

A number of respectable and wealthy merchants, having obtained a charter of King Charles I., and being incorporated by the name of the governor and company of Massachusetts' Bay, in New England, determined, in the year 1629, to send over some ships to begin the plantation. They, having heard of Mr. Higginson's situation, sent two messengers to invite him to join their company, engaging to support him on the passage. These messengers, understanding that Mr. Higginson was in daily expectation of officers to carry him to London, determined to have a little sport. Accordingly, they went boldly to his door, and with loud knocks, cried, "Where is Mr. Higginson? We must speak with Mr. Higginson." His affrighted wife ran to his chamber, entreating him to conceal himself. "No," said he, "I will go down and speak to them, and the will of the Lord be done." As they entered his hall with an assumed boldness, and roughness of address, they presented him with some papers, saying, "Sir, we come from London: our business is to carry you up to London, as you may see by these papers."—"I thought so," exclaimed Mrs. Higginson, and immediately began to weep. Upon a slight examination of the papers, Mr. Higginson found himself invited to Massachusetts by the governor and company of the intended colony; he welcomed his guests, had free conversation with them, and after taking proper time to ascertain the path of duty, resolved to cross the Atlantic. His farewell sermon was preached from Luke, xxi. 20, 21. "When ye see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, &c. then flee to the mountains." Before a vast assembly he declared his persuasion, that England would be chastised by war, and that Leicester would have more



than an ordinary share of sufferings.\* He expressed his thankful acknowledgments to the magistrates and others, for their favour and encouragement; and informed them that he was going to New England, which he believed God designed as a refuge for persecuted nonconformists. He soon took his journey with his family to London, in order to his embarking for the new colony, when the streets, as he passed along, were filled with people, bidding him farewell, with prayers and cries for his welfare.

They sailed from the Isle of Wight in the beginning of May, 1629, and arrived in Salem harbour the 24th of June following. The ships were filled with religious passengers, among whom were Mr. Samuel Skelton and Mr. Ralph Smith, both nonconformist ministers. Mr. Higginson kept a journal of the voyage, a copy of which is still preserved.† They were no sooner arrived at Salem, than they entered upon the important object for which they went. They began the new plantation by calling on the name of the Lord. After consulting the brethren at Plymouth, who sent messengers to their assistance, they set apart the sixth of August as a day of fasting and prayer, and for settling the order of their intended church. On this interesting occasion, Mr. Higginson drew up a confession of faith, and a covenant,‡ a copy of which was given to each of the thirty persons who became members; and to this confession and covenant, these thirty persons did solemnly and severally declare their consent. Mr. Higginson was then chosen teacher, Mr. Skelton the pastor of the church, and Mr. Houghton ruling elder. Afterwards, many other persons joined the church, but none were admitted without giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God. This was the first christian church that was ever formed in the Massachusetts' colony.§

Some of the passengers who went with these new planters, observing that the ministers did not use the Book of Common Prayer; that they administered the sacraments without the English ceremonies; that they refused to admit disorderly persons to the Lord's supper; and that they resolved to exercise discipline against all scandalous

\* Not many years after, Leicester, which was strongly fortified, received the wealth of the adjacent country. It was then besieged, taken by storm, given up to plunder and violence, and eleven hundred of its inhabitants were slain in the streets.—*Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 74.

† See Massachusetts' Papers, p. 32—46.

‡ See Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. i. p. 18, 19. § Ibid. b. iii. p. 74, 75.

members of the church, began to make disturbance, and set up a separate assembly, according to the usage of the church of England. The chief promoters of this breach were Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother, the one a lawyer, and the other a merchant. The governor, perceiving this disturbance, sent for these two gentlemen, who accused the ministers of "departing from the order of the church of England;" adding, "that they were separatists, and would shortly be anabaptists; but as to themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England." To these accusations, the ministers replied, "That they were neither separatists nor anabaptists; that they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the disorders and corruptions of that church; that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land; and, therefore, being in a place where they might exercise their liberty, they neither could, nor would use them; especially because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions of the word of God."\* The governor, the council, and the people in general, approved of the answers given by the ministers. The two brothers, however, not being satisfied, and endeavouring to raise a mutiny among the people, were sent back to England, by the return of the same ships which carried them.

The faith and patience of these adventurers were exercised with other trials. The first winter after their arrival proved very fatal. It carried off nearly one hundred of their company, among whom was Mr. Houghton the elder of the church. Mr. Higginson himself, not being able to undergo the fatigues of a new settlement, fell into a hectic fever, of which he lingered till the month of August following. The last sermon he preached was from Matt. xi. 7. "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" It was delivered to several hundreds of persons just arrived from England, whom he suitably reminded of their design to promote true religion, in transporting themselves to that country. Mr. Higginson was soon after confined to his bed, when he was visited by the chief persons of the colony. He was deeply humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness; and when his friends endeavoured to comfort him by reminding him of his faithfulness and usefulness, he replied,

\* Morton's New Eng. Mem. p. 76, 77.—Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. i. p. 19.

“ I have been an unprofitable servant ; and all my doings  
 “ I count but loss and dung. All my desire is to win  
 “ Christ, and be found in him, not having my own  
 “ righteousness.” He died in the month of August, 1630,  
 aged forty-three years. His funeral was attended with  
 all possible solemnity. He was richly endowed with  
 divine grace, mighty in the scriptures, a good linguist, and  
 an excellent preacher. He held the hearts of his people,  
 and his memory was dear to their posterity. He left a  
 widow and eight children. Mr. Higginson had two sons,  
 Francis and John, who afterwards became ministers ; the  
 former at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, England,  
 where he conformed at the restoration.\* The latter was  
 chosen pastor of his father’s church, in the year 1659 ; and  
 was labouring there in the year 1696, in the eightieth year  
 of his age, and the sixtieth of his ministry. Mr. Higgin-  
 son’s posterity still remain in New England, and are among  
 the most respectable people of the commonwealth.†

ROBERT NICOLLS was minister of Wrenbury in Cheshire,  
 where he was held in high repute for his excellent abilities  
 and worthy ministerial labours. He was a man of a clear  
 head, a tender heart, and a most holy life, always abound-  
 ing in the work of the Lord.‡ He was called before the  
 high commission, and, with many of his brethren, exceed-  
 ingly harassed for nonconformity. Being required by  
 Bishop Morton to produce his arguments against the cross  
 in baptism, the use of the surplice, and kneeling at the  
 sacrament, he presented them to the bishop in the high  
 commission court, when, though he was esteemed a most  
 learned and pious minister, his lordship treated him with  
 much scorn and abuse.§ He was contemporary with Mr.  
 Ball, Mr. Herring, Mr. Ashe, and other divines of dis-  
 tinguished eminence, with whom he lived in the greatest  
 friendship. During the persecution of the times, he found  
 an asylum under the hospitable roof of the excellent Lady  
 Bromley, of Sheriff-Hales in Shropshire ; at whose house  
 he died about the year 1630.¶ He was author of the

\* Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 75.—Palmer’s Noncon. Mem.  
 vol. iii. p. 355.—This Mr. Francis Higginson, says Dr. Mather, wrote the  
 first book that was ever published against the quakers, entitled, “ The  
 Irreligion of Northern Quakers.”—*Ibid.* p. 76.

† Morse and Parish’s Hist. of New Eng. p. 52.

‡ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 164.

§ Paget’s Defence, Pref.

¶ Clark’s Lives, p. 165.



third part of a work entitled "Some Treasure fetched out of Rubbish; or, three short but seasonable Treatises, found in an heap of scattered Papers, which Providence hath reserved for their Service who desire to be instructed from the Word of God, concerning the Imposition and Use of Significant Ceremonies in the Worship of God," 1660. His part is entitled, "Three Arguments Sylogistically propounded and prosecuted against the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper."

JOHN WARHAM was a pious and celebrated preacher at Exeter; but, on account of the tyrannical proceedings of the prelates, was forced to flee to New England for refuge from the storm. Previous to his departure, a congregational church being gathered at Plymouth, he was, after solemn fasting and prayer, chosen one of its pastors; and in the year 1630, many pious families out of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, accompanied them to New England.\* Upon their arrival, they began the settlement of Windsor, where, as pastor of the church, he spent the rest of his days. The whole colony of Connecticut looked up to him as the principal pillar, and the father of the colony. Though he was a most pious man, he often laboured under melancholy apprehensions, even despairing of his own salvation. Such were the painful temptations under which his holy soul groaned, that he sometimes administered the Lord's supper to the people of his charge, not daring to starve their souls, when he forbore to partake with them, concluding that he was not one of God's children. This darkness continued more or less to the day of his death. He was the first minister in New England that ever preached by the use of notes; yet he delivered his sermons with remarkable energy and success.†

ARTHUR HILDERSHAM, A. M.—This celebrated divine was descended from the royal family, and the famous Cardinal Poole was his great uncle. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Hildersham, a gentleman of an ancient family, and Ann Poole his second wife. Mrs. Hildersham was daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, the fourth son of Sir Richard

\* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 200, 204.

† Mather's Hist. of New. Eng. b. iii. p. 121.

Poole, cousin german to King Henry VII. Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the wife of Sir Richard Poole, and grandmother to Mr. Hildersham, was the daughter of George duke of Clarence (second brother to King Edward IV.) and Isabella, elder daughter and co-heir of Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury. Our divine being thus honourably descended, was born at Stechworth in Cambridgeshire, October 6, 1563, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. His parents were zealous papists; and he was brought up in all the errors and superstitions of popery, and taught to repeat his prayers in Latin. During his abode at the university, he embraced the protestant religion, and was highly esteemed on account of his learning, piety, affability, and inoffensive and witty conversation. His father no sooner knew of the change in his religious sentiments, than he took him from the university, and resolved to send him to Rome, with a view to have him reclaimed, and obtain ecclesiastical preferment. Young Hildersham, however, was fixed in his protestant principles, and refused to go; for which his father cast him off and disinherited him. Thus, he whom God had appointed to be a great sufferer in his cause, began to bear the yoke in his youth; by forsaking parents, friends, and all earthly comforts, and the certain prospect of worldly advancement, for the sake of Christ and the testimony of a good conscience.

In this forlorn situation, God, who comforteth his people in all their tribulations, comforted Mr. Hildersham, through the kind assistance of Mr. John Ireton, then of Cambridge, but afterwards rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire. This gentleman providentially meeting him in London, said to him, "Arthur, why art thou so long from thy books, losing so much time?" "Alas, sir," said he, "I shall go no more to Cambridge;" and then gave him a particular account of his unhappy condition. "Well," said Mr. Ireton, "be not discouraged. Thou hast a noble kinsman, whom I will acquaint with thy case; and I doubt not that he will provide for thee." He accordingly laid his distressed situation before Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, whose mother and Mr. Hildersham's mother were brother's children. The noble earl gladly embraced this opportunity of shewing his kindness and generosity. He warmly espoused his cause, sent him again to the university, and afforded him his liberal support. Mr. Hildersham was afterwards chosen fellow of Christ's college by a majority of

the fellows; but Dr. Barwell the master, having a predilection for his competitor, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Willet, prevented the confirmation of their election. This illegal proceeding induced Mr. Hildersham to address the following letter to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university:\*

“Right Honourable,

“Pleaseth your honour to understand, that about a twelvemonth since, an election being made in Christ’s college in Cambridge, and your lordship’s humble orator being by the greater part of the fellows lawfully chosen; yet, through the injurious dealing of the master, kept from the admission. It pleased your honour at that time (understanding the equity of my cause, and moved with the very earnest request of my very good earl, the earl of Huntingdon) to direct your letters to the visitors of our college, that they should ratify the lawful proceedings of the greater part of our fellows, and confirm the place whereto I was before according to statute elected: which not being at that time by them performed; and I not presuming hitherto (in the absence of my right honourable patron) to solicit your lordship in that suit; and seeing that the master, with certain of the fellows of our college, is, by reason of his late dealing in another matter, presently to appear before your lordship, is that in regard of the injury by the master done to the statute, and of my lord and patron his earnest request then made unto your honour, and adjudging it as your honoured wisdom shall see it in justice and equity expedient.

“At the election of your lordship’s orator, three fellowships were void; that is, Mr. Ireton’s, Mr. Watson’s, Mr. Barber’s: so that the number of master and fellows was eleven, whereof six chose your lordship’s orator; and therefore he ought to have been pronounced fellow. For the words of the statute are these, &c.

“Your honour’s most humble and daily orator,

“ARTHUR HILDERSHAM.”

This letter, though without date, was written about the year 1586; but the writer obtained no immediate redress; only about the time when he wrote the letter, he was chosen fellow of Trinity-hall, in the same university. He was preferred to this place by the particular advice and direction of Lord Burleigh, most probably as a recompence for his



illegal and unkind usage.\* Whatever might be the intention of this noble person, he did not hold his fellowship two years. He entered in the mean time upon his public ministerial function; but he presently received a sudden check, and was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and deprived of his fellowship, chiefly for preaching occasionally before he took orders. This was done by the particular instigation of Archbishop Whitgift, who commanded him to make a public recantation, and required him to enter into bonds to appear again on a certain day before the high commission, if he presumed to refuse. The form of his recantation, dated January 10, 1588, was the following :

“ I confess that I have rashly and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach, not being licensed, nor admitted into holy orders, contrary to the orders of the church of England; contrary to the example of antiquity; and contrary to the direction of the apostle in the Acts: whereby I have given great and just offence to many; and the more, because I have uttered in my sermons certain impertinent, and very unfit speeches for the auditory, as moving their minds to discontent with the state, rather than tending to godly edification. For which my presumption and indiscretion, I am very heartily sorry, and desire you to bear witness of this my confession, and acknowledging my said offences.”†

It is extremely doubtful whether Mr. Hildersham ever recanted; for he was, previous to the above date, called from the university by the Earl of Huntingdon, and appointed to preach at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. In this situation he continued to the end of his days, though not without frequent molestations and interruptions. He was a man of great piety, learning, charity, and peaceableness, and one who loved all pious and learned men, whatever might be their opinions of the discipline and ceremonies. Although he was a minister in the established church, and so far opposed a total separation from it, that he was called *the hammer of schismatics*; yet “ he was,” says Mr. Clark, “ always, from his first entrance into the ministry, a resolved and conscientious nonconformist;” and he laboured hard, in concert with his brethren, to obtain a more pure reformation of the national church. His honest and decided attachment to what he considered to be the

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 445.

† MS. Register, p. 825.

truth, exposed him to all those oppressions and cruelties with which he was exercised. It will appear from the following narrative, that he was frequently silenced from his ministry, and treated in many other respects with the utmost barbarity; notwithstanding which he usually attended upon the prayers, sermons, and sacraments, at the established church. All his excellent endowments were insufficient to screen him from the tyrannical proceedings of the ruling ecclesiastics.

In the year 1590 this excellent divine entered upon the conjugal state, and married the daughter of Mr. Barfoot of Lamborn-hall in Essex. She was his constant companion in all his tribulations, and an excellent comforter under his numerous and painful sufferings. During the first year of his marriage, his faith and patience were put to the trial. He was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and obliged to enter into bonds, prohibiting him from attending upon the duties of his ministry in any part of England. The year following he was partially restored, but still forbidden to preach at any place south of the river Trent.\* This prohibition utterly excluded him from labouring among his beloved people at Ashby. But this restraint was afterwards taken away, when he returned to his stated ministerial charge at that place. In the month of July, 1593, the worthy Earl of Huntingdon presented him to the benefice of Ashby; and he obtained his induction to the living.+ Mr. Hildersham was well known at court, and his name was often honourably mentioned in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. On these occasions she used to

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 8.

+ The following is a copy of the earl's letter to Mr. Hildersham, sent with his presentation:—"Since it hath pleased the Lord to call Tho. Wyddowes to his mercye, who was, in opinion, both careful, faithful, and diligent in his function, according to his talent; I wish, with all my heart, the supply of that place to be such, as that the good which father Gilbie and he, by the good providence of God, have planted in and about Ashby, may be continued and increased. Therefore I chuse to present you to that pastoral charge at Ashby; which I trust, by that time I have finished my long intended purpose, shall be a sufficient place for any learned preacher. And with this letter I send you my presentation to the vicarage, with a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, who I hope will easily accept of you, with all honour. Yet let this be your care, to advance the glory of God, by exercise of your ministry, which you shall do best when you are in your pastoral charge. I am forced to end. God ever direct and ever assist you with all necessary graces.

"To the comfort of the poor widow I will take some care. At York, hastily, this 5 July, 1593.

"HEN. HUNTINGDON."

style him *cousin Hildersham*; therefore, by her majesty's favour, he was released from the above ecclesiastical censure.\*

Mr. Hildersham being a divine of great celebrity, was called, in the year 1596, to preach the assize sermon before judge Anderson, at Leicester. Though it is said to have been "a godly and learned sermon," the judge could not conceal his displeasure, even while he was in the church. Anderson was no sooner seated upon the bench, than he required the jury to bring an indictment against the preacher, but they refused; "and it would have been difficult," adds our author, "to have found a jury in Leicestershire, that would not have been ashamed of doing it." The angry judge was so mortified and offended, that he brought Mr. Hildersham afterwards into some other troubles; from which, however, the Lord mercifully delivered him. In the year 1598 an attachment was issued from the high commission to apprehend him; but whether he was taken into custody, or he concealed himself till the storm subsided, we have not been able to learn.†

On the accession of King James, numerous petitions were presented to his majesty and the parliament, for a further reformation of the church. Mr. Hildersham, being a leading person among the puritans, and universally beloved by all the enemies of superstition and oppression, was appointed, with several of his brethren, to present these petitions, and, if required, to defend them by disputation. Among these was the *millenary* petition, subscribed by upwards of a thousand ministers, "desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the church."‡ At the Hampton-court conference, our worthy divine, together with Mr. Stephen Egerton of London, and Mr. Edward Fleetwood of Lancashire, presented a number of requests to his majesty, earnestly desiring a further reformation in ecclesiastical matters.

It was impossible for Mr. Hildersham to act in this public capacity without being particularly noticed. The eyes of the jealous prelates were fixed upon him. Therefore, in the year 1605, he was silenced by the Bishop of Lincoln for nonconformity. Afterwards, he obtained some favour from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who allowed him to preach occasionally in his diocese, particu-

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 4.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 114—116.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 21—23.



larly at the two famous associations at Repton in Derbyshire, and Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire. These associations were designed for private conference among the ministers, and the public ministry of the word. They were the means of doing unspeakable good to both ministers and people; and Mr. Hildersham was a chief promoter of them for many years. His fame, indeed, was so great in those parts, that for many years after, when any one became remarkable for true piety, he was sure to be stigmatized as one of Hildersham's old puritans.\* Mr. Hildersham remained under the above ecclesiastical censure upwards of three years. Towards the close of the year 1608, by the favour of Dr. Barlow, the new bishop of Lincoln, he was again restored to his ministry, and allowed to preach among his beloved flock at Ashby. It was after his restoration at this time that he entered upon his "Lectures on John iv.," which he continued every Tuesday for upwards of two years.

These lectures were afterwards published, in 1628, and dedicated to Henry earl of Huntingdon, who attended them, when preached in Ashby church, and whose uncle and grandfather had been the author's worthy patrons. The celebrated Mr. John Cotton, in his epistle to the reader prefixed to the second edition of this work, says, "In reading most of the best books extant, the studious reader is wont to select and transcribe the pith of such notes as stand like lights, &c. in the body of the discourse, and in the spirit of the writer. But in *this* book, I find such variety of choice matter, running throughout every vein of each discourse, and carried along with such strength of sound and deep judgment, and with such life and power of an heavenly spirit; and expressed in such pithy and pregnant words of wisdom, that I knew not what to select, and what to omit, unless I should have transcribed the whole book." Dr. Williams says, "that these lectures discover the author to be a sound divine, an admirable textuary, a profoundly experienced christian, and an excellent teacher."†

He did not, however, enjoy his liberty quite three years. For in November, 1611, he was again silenced, by Neile, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. The occasion of his lordship's censure was his supposed connexion with Mr. Edward Whiteman of Burton-upon-Trent, denominated a notorious heretic, for which he was afterwards burnt at

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 10.

† Christian Preacher, p. 435.

Lichfield. Though, upon Mr. Hildersham's examination before the bishop and many others, his innocence was made perfectly manifest in open court, he continued under the episcopal censure a long time; and, to the unspeakable grief of many, the two exercises at Repton and Burton-upon-Trent were put down. In addition to this, December 8, 1612, letters missive were issued from the high commission, requiring his appearance before the ecclesiastical judges. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he was judicially admonished, then prohibited from ever preaching, catechizing, or attending upon any part of the ministerial function, either in public or private, until he should be lawfully restored. What a pity was it, that so excellent and peaceable a divine should have been struck dumb, even after his innocence had been proved and acknowledged by the bishop in a court of justice!\* This, indeed, savoured too much of the tyrannical oppression of antichrist.

When Mr. Hildersham was restored from the above unchristian sentence, we have not been able to learn. But in the year 1615, he was again prosecuted in the high commission; and, for refusing the oath *ex officio*, was committed first to the Fleet, then to the King's-bench, where he continued a long time. During his tedious and painful confinement, a certain nobleman made application to Archbishop Abbot for his release; when the angry archbishop protested, "that unless he would submit to what the commissioners required, he should die and rot in prison."† Abbot, it is said, was a prelate of great learning and piety; but he was esteemed a puritan in doctrine; and in discipline, too remiss for one placed at the head of the church.‡ But, surely, this did not appear, at least on the present occasion. Mr. Hildersham, upon giving bond to appear when called, was at length released from confinement.

In September, 1616, the commissioners sat at Ashby, to examine certain witnesses against Mr. Hildersham and his two friends, Mr. Thomas Dighton and Mr. John Holt.§

\* Clark's Lives, p. 117, 118.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 14.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 341.

§ The nonconformists, both ministers and private christians, were now barbarously prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts; among whom were these gentlemen, both natives of Ashby. One of them was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, the other in the Fleet; and having endured confinement for some time, they were brought forth, November 21, 1616, under the care of their keepers, when they received the following sentence in the high com-

The witnesses against Mr. Hildersham affirmed upon their oaths, what all the parish knew to be notoriously false, and even declared by what motives he was actuated in what was charged against him. But upon this most glaring false witness, the court proceeded to censure him as follows:—He was pronounced refractory and disobedient to the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church of England; and a schismatic and schismatical person, and well worthy of severe punishment. Also, because he was deemed the *ringleader* of all schismatical persons in that part of the country, he was fined two thousand pounds, excommunicated, degraded from the ministry, ordered to be taken and cast into prison, commanded to make a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and, to finish the business, he was condemned in costs of suit.\* If any impartial judge were to form an opinion of Mr. Hildersham's crime from this heavy sentence, he would conclude the single sin of nonconformity, at least in the opinion of the ecclesiastical judges, to have been much greater than open drunkenness, swearing, adultery, or any such atrocious acts of immorality, which, though very common among the clergy of those times, were scarcely ever noticed. What a happy circumstance is it that we live in better days! in which it is generally acknowledged, that, in religious matters, every man ought to act according to the persuasion

mission court:—"It appeared to the court, that the said Dighton and Holt, being laymen, had, in opposition to the state ecclesiastical, kept *sundry conventicles or exercises of religion in private houses*, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch; and held public disputations against the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church, and dissuaded others from conformity to the same. And because Mr. Hacket their minister, (meaning the person appointed to the place,) was conformable, they have refused to come to church to hear him preach, or read divine service, or to bring their children to be baptized, or their wives to be churched; but, leaving their own parishes, went to other parishes to hear unconformable ministers, and carried many of the parish of Ashby after them, to the great encouragement of schismatical and refractory persons; and, being often admonished in this court, they refused, and do still refuse, to join with the christian congregation in receiving the holy communion *kneeling*: and having made common purses, and sundry collections, for maintaining, abetting, and encouraging such schismatical persons in their obstinacy and disobedience to his majesty's laws ecclesiastical; they are, therefore, pronounced schismatics and schismatical persons, and worthy to be severely punished, and were accordingly fined a *thousand* pounds a piece, pronounced excommunicate, ordered to be publicly denounced, to make their submission in three several places, condemned in costs of suit, and sent back to prison; but how long they continued," says our author, "I am not able to learn." This is one instance of the persecution of laymen for their nonconformity.—

*MS. Remarks*, p. 652.

\* *Clark's Lives*, p. 118, 119.



of his own mind. "If we dissent from one another in these things," says Mr. Hildersham, "it must be without bitterness, and in brotherly love. The odious names of puritans, formalists, schismatics, or time-servers, ought not to be heard among brethren."\*

Mr. Hildersham, having heard of the above cruel sentence, wisely, and for a long time, concealed himself. At length, however, he wrote to Lady Fielding, desiring her to use her influence to get his fine taken off; or, if that could not be done, to obtain a mitigation of it so far as to be allowed to pay a certain sum annually, being all that he was able to spare. He sent a petition to the same effect to the Earl of Suffolk, and another to the high commission.† Several processes were in the mean time issued from the exchequer, to inquire into his estates, but none could be found. He therefore compounded the matter with his prosecutors, by paying a great sum of money, and was released from the heavy fine.

This, indeed, was not the end of his troubles. For in the year 1618, a pursuivant from the Bishop of London violently broke into his study, and carried away many of his valuable books. The good man petitioned his lordship for them to be restored; but whether they ever were, my author adds, "I have not been able to learn."‡ By a license, dated June 20, 1625, from the archbishop, he obtained liberty to preach within the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Coventry and Lichfield; and soon after entered once more upon his public charge at Ashby. In the month of September this year, he commenced his course of lectures on Psalm li., afterwards published with this title, "CLII. Lectures upon Psalm LI. preached at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire," 1635. This work "is a rich mine of experimental and practical divinity;" but not quite so concise and finished as those on John iv.§

Notwithstanding the above numerous interruptions and oppressions, Mr. Hildersham had once more to pass through the fire of persecution. March 25, 1630, for refusing to read the public service in the hood and surplice, he was again silenced by the tyrannizing ecclesiastics. This suspension, however, did not continue very long; for, August 2, 1631, he was restored to his beloved ministry, and so

\* Hildersham's Lectures on John, p. 301. Edit. 1632.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 16.

‡ Ibid.—Clark's Lives, p. 120.

§ Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 431, 435.

continued preaching till December 27th following, when he preached his last sermon.\*

Thus our pious and learned divine knew by painful experience the truth of that doctrine which he delivered to the people. "Every faithful minister," says he, "who laboureth to win souls to God, shall be sure to be well rewarded, how ill soever an unthankful world may reward him. If we judge by *sense* and *reason*, we shall hardly be able to conceive how it can be true; for no kind of men ever seems to be more neglected of God in this life, than faithful ministers. In all ages these men have been in much trouble, and their enemies have prevailed against them; and that oftentimes even unto death. But," says he, "if we look into it with a *spiritual eye*, we shall find that God hath a special care to provide for faithful ministers; and that none have such promises of protection and deliverance from trouble. If it please the Lord to let his ministers suffer, it is," saith he, "either because their testimony is finished; or because God will receive more honour by their suffering, and constant confession of his truth, than by their peace: as saith the apostle of his own troubles: *I would, brethren, ye should understand, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel.*"†

This excellent servant of Christ discovered in his last sickness very becoming submission to the will of God. His conversation was spiritual, holy, and heavenly. He gave a solemn charge to his son, to take heed unto the flock of Christ; and on the Lord's day, while his son was at prayer with him, he closed his eyes in peace, and entered upon the joy of his Lord, March 4, 1631, aged sixty-eight years. Mr. Hildersham preached at Ashby upwards of forty-three years, excepting the intervals of his suspension for nonconformity. He was a pious, learned, and useful preacher. Fuller styles him "a worthy divine, and a just and upright man," but has incorrectly classed him among the fellows and learned writers of *Christ's college*, Cambridge.‡ Echard denominates him "a great and shining light of the puritan party," and observes, "that he was justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety."§ Lilly, the astrologer, who was educated at Ashby school, says, "He

\* Clark's Lives, p. 122.

† Hildersham on John, p. 282—284.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 159.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 98.

was an excellent textuary, of exemplary life, pleasant in discourse, a strong enemy to the Brownists, and dissented not from the church of England in any article of faith; but only about wearing the surplice, baptizing with the cross, and kneeling in the sacrament. Most of the people in the town were directed by his judgment, and so continued in it.”\*

He was a divine of great moderation, and of a most amiable christian spirit. He used to say, “that he never heard any faithful preacher of the gospel, however mean his talents might be, but he could discover some gift in him that was wanting in himself, and could receive some profit from his preaching.” He died in perfect satisfaction with his nonconformity, as appears from his last will and testament, in which were these words:—“I do hereby  
“declare and protest, that I do continue and end my days  
“in the very same faith and judgment, touching all points  
“of religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profess;  
“and which I have, both by my doctrine and practice, and  
“by my sufferings also, given testimony unto.”† The excellent Mr. Samuel Hildersham, ejected in 1662, was his son.‡ Mr. Hildersham’s remains were interred in the chancel of Ashby church, where, on the south side, is the following monumental inscription erected to his memory.§

## M. S.

Near to this place lieth interred the body  
of ARTHUR HILDERSHAM,  
honourably descended from Sir RICHARD POOLE,  
by his wife MARGARET Countess of SALISBURY;  
but more honoured for his sweet and ingenuous disposition,  
his singular wisdom in settling peace,  
advising in secular affairs,  
and satisfying doubts,  
his abundant charity,  
and especially for his extraordinary knowledge and  
judgment in the Holy Scriptures,  
his painful and zealous preaching,  
together with his firm and lasting constancy  
in the truth he professed.  
He lived in this place  
for the most part of forty-three years and six months,  
with great success in his ministry,  
love and reverence of all sorts,  
and died with much honour and lamentation,  
March the 4th, 1631.

\* Lilly’s Life and Times, p. 6. Edit. 1774.

† Clark’s Lives, p. 120. ‡ Palmer’s Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 147.

§ Nichols’s Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 622.



The character given of Mr. Hildersham, in the above monumental inscription, is confirmed by one of his contemporaries; who says, "that the loss which the town of Ashby sustained by his death was very great; for he was a peace-maker among his neighbours, and the patron of the poor. By his great wisdom and care, wickedness was checked, and godliness was promoted. He was a friend to every one in a good cause; and it was his constant delight to be serviceable to all. He left a precious name behind him, and had epistles of commendation written in the hearts of the people."\*

In addition to the two excellent volumes already specified, Mr. Hildersham was author of "Lectures on Psalm xxxv.," published in 1632; and "A Treatise on the Lord's Supper." Of this work, Mr. John Cotton says, "Those questions and answers furnish a christian with a more proper view of that spiritual duty, than any other book in any language, that I know, in so small a compass." It is commonly bound with a treatise on the same subject by Mr. Bradshaw.†

THOMAS HILL was of Hart-hall, Oxford, and a popular preacher in the university. He was zealous in the advancement of truth, and in opposition to error; yet he discovered great moderation. Having preached a sermon from James i. 16. in St. Mary's church, May 24, 1631, he made the following observations: "Were my time and learning parallel to my zeal, what a tempting doth here present itself, to shew how rashly (I say not cruelly) our Pelagian votaries have handled the decrees and statutes of the King of heaven. But they are to be mischieved into honour, (no matter how,) which tempts them to disrelish sound doctrine on no other ground than did David, because the lords do not favour it. 1. Sam. xxix. 6. Scripture they use worse than the Turks do christians at Tunis; enslave it to the vassalage of the foulest error; and, according to their most current garb, employ it to defend popery, or, as bad, Pelagianism. Popish darts, whet afresh on a Dutch grindstone, have pierced deep, and, without succour, will prove mortal. I am persuaded these late transmarine tenets had not been so *jolly* and *brief* among us, nor the opposite truth so diametrically condemned by many, had they first made

\* Clark's Lives, p. 119, 120.

† Hildersham on John, Epis.

proof of these points in their own retired and serious contemplations.”\*

For these slight glances at popery and Arminianism, he was, by the instigation of Bishop Laud, convened before the vice-chancellor and heads of houses, when he was required to make the following degrading recantation, in a full convocation, on his bended knees :—“ I, Thomas Hill, “ do freely and sincerely acknowledge before this venerable “ assembly of convocation, that in a sermon lately by me “ preached in St. Mary’s, I did let fall divers scandalous “ speeches, partly in opposition to his majesty’s injunctions, “ by odious justling together the names of certain factions “ in the church, and imputing Pelagianism and popery to “ the one side: partly in disparagement of the present “ government of state and church, by making foul and “ erroneous opinions the readiest steps now a days to pre- “ ferment. As also in disparaging the whole order of “ bishops, in point of learning and religion, making them “ favourers of unsound and erroneous doctrine, and dis- “ favourers of sound doctrine. As likewise in imputing to “ a great part of our clergy, only *politic* and *lunatic* religion: “ besides private glances against particular persons, con- “ cerning some speeches delivered in their late sermons. “ In all which passages in my sermon, I confess to have “ given just offence to the university, and to deserve the “ sharpest censures. Wherefore, with all humble sub- “ mission, I beseech the whole university, represented in “ this venerable house, to pass by this my wilful error of “ indiscreet and misguided zeal, and do faithfully promise “ henceforward to abstain from all such scandalous asper- “ sions and intimations, as tending only to the disparagement “ of the church, and the distraction and disquiet of the “ university. And this my submission I humbly crave may “ be accepted, which I do here make willingly, and from “ my heart, with true sorrow for what is past.

“ THOMAS HILL.”

It appears from the records of the university, that Mr. Hill made the above recantation, July 16, 1631, when he was no doubt released from the hands of his cruel oppressors. There was another puritan divine of the same name, who lived at the same time, was doctor in divinity, and a person of distinguished eminence in his day.

\* Prynn’s Cant. Doome, p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 174.—Wharton’s Troubles of Laud, vol. ii. p. 51.

**ROBERT BOLTON, B. D.**—This excellent divine was born at Blackburn in Lancashire, in the year 1572, and educated first in Lincoln college, then in Brazen-nose college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He made uncommon progress in logic, philosophy, and the learned languages. The means of his support being small, he borrowed books of his tutor and other persons; when, for his greater advantage, besides reading them with close attention, he preserved abridgments of them in his common-place book. With a view to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the Greek, he transcribed with uncommon pains the whole of Homer, in a very fair character. He became famous for his lectures on natural and moral philosophy, and was learned in metaphysics, mathematics, and school divinity. Having so eminently displayed his learning and abilities in the public disputations of the schools, he was chosen by the vice-chancellor, when King James first visited the university, to be one of the public disputants before his majesty. Notwithstanding all his ornamental and useful accomplishments, he was still destitute of the one thing needful; he had no serious concern for his soul; but loved plays and cards, was a horrible swearer, sabbath-breaker, and familiar associate of the wicked. He hated all good men, especially those odiously stigmatized by the name of puritans; and even denominated the celebrated Mr. William Perkins “a barren empty fellow, and a very mean scholar.” His views, however, were afterwards changed. Having experienced the renewing influence of divine grace, he said that Mr. Perkins was as learned and godly a divine as the church had enjoyed for many years.

During Mr. Bolton's residence at Oxford, he became intimately acquainted with one Anderton, formerly his school-fellow, but now a learned popish priest, who, taking an advantage of his mean circumstances, persuaded him into a reconciliation to the church of Rome, and to accompany him to one of the English seminaries in Flanders; where, said he, “you shall have gold enough.” The time and place of embarking were accordingly appointed: but Anderton disappointing him, he renounced the object altogether, and returned to his college. Here, by the instructions of the excellent Mr. Thomas Peacock, he was brought under such deep convictions of sin, that for many months he lost his appetite, his sleep, and all peace of mind. In the end, by a continuance in prayer and deep humiliation before God, he found mercy and received comfort. This memorable



event was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he resolved to enter upon the work of the ministry. Having received much from the Lord, he loved much, and was desirous of being employed for much usefulness. Having preached at various places for about two years, Sir Augustin Nichols, one of the justices of the common pleas,\* presented him, in the year 1609, to the rectory of Broughton in Northamptonshire, at which place he continued to the day of his death. Upon his presentation to Broughton, Bishop King thanked the worthy judge, but observed, that he had deprived the university of one of its brightest ornaments.†

Mr. Bolton was a most authoritative and awakening preacher, being endowed with the most masculine and oratorical style of any in his time. He preached twice every Lord's day, and catechized the youth of his congregation. Upon every holiday, and every Friday before the sacrament, he expounded a portion of scripture; and constantly prayed six times a day, twice in secret, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. He kept many days of fasting and private humiliation before God, especially for the protestant churches abroad. He was a comely and grave person, commanding in all companies, and ever zealous in the cause of Christ; yet so prudent, as to avoid being called in question for those things in which he was unconformable to the ecclesiastical establishment. As a minister of the gospel, he was famous for charity, courage, wisdom, and impartiality.‡ He was so deeply engaged in his work, that it is said, "he never delivered a sermon to his people in public till he had preached it to himself in private.§

In his last sickness, which was a quartan ague, Mr. Bolton, finding that his complaint increased, revised his will, and retired from the noise of the world, employing the remnant of his time in sweet meditation on the joys of heaven. Though his sickness was tedious and painful, he bore it with admirable patience, and endured it as seeing him that is invisible. During the intervals of his fits, he often exclaimed, "Oh! when will this good hour come? When shall I be dissolved? When shall I be with Christ?" Being told, that though it would be better for him to be

\* Sir Augustin was a learned man, an upright judge, an excellent christian, and a zealous promoter of true religion.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. iii. A. D. 1626.

† Life of Mr. Bolton prefixed to his "Four Last Things." Edit. 1632.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ambrose's Works, p. 24. Edit. 1701.

dissolved, the church of God would lose the benefit of his ministry, he replied, "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me his habitation; but if otherwise, lo! here I am; let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." Being asked whether he should not be content to live, if it were the will of God, he immediately said, "I grant that life is the great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means to preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God's will; but of the two, I infinitely prefer to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." During the progress of his complaint, many of his people and acquaintance visited him, but he only allowed his intimate friends to see him, desiring that his preparation for heaven might not be interrupted. But to those who had access to him, he gave very affectionate and appropriate exhortations. Though his body was much wasted, his mental powers were as lively and vigorous as ever. He encouraged ministers who came to him, to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to let their spirits sink under the troubles of the way. He exhorted all who came to him to make sure of Christ before they came to die. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy, in plucking him as a brand from the fire, and in blessing his ministry to the conversion of so many souls, ascribing to him all the glory.

About a week before his departure, he desired his wife not to be troubled at his dissolution, but to bear it with christian fortitude, assuring her they should meet again in heaven. Turning towards his children, he observed, that they must not now expect him to say any thing to them, for his strength was gone; and he had told them enough in time past, which he hoped they would remember after he was dead; and he said, "he verily believed that none of them durst think of meeting him before the tribunal of God, in an unconverted state." As in his public ministry he had made known to his people the unspeakable comforts of the gospel, they now desired to know what he felt of them in his own soul. "Alas," said he, "do they look for that of me now, who have not breath and strength to speak? I have told them enough in my ministry. But to give them satisfaction, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ, with whom I heartily desire to be." And looking upon those who were weeping near him, he said, "Oh! how much ado there is before one can die."

A little before his departure, and expecting every moment to be his last, being told that some of his best friends were about to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be raised up, and bowing himself upon his bed's head, after struggling for breath, he spoke as follows: "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out, faith and patience; your work will soon be ended." Then, shaking them all by the hand, he said, "Make sure of heaven; and keep in mind what I have formerly delivered to you. The doctrine which I have preached to you for the space of twenty years, is the truth of God, as I shall answer at the tribunal of Christ, before whom I must soon appear." This he spake when the very pangs of death were upon him. A dear friend taking him by the hand, asked him whether he felt much pain. "Truly no," said he, "the greatest pain I feel is your cold hand," and presently expired. He died December 17, 1631, aged fifty-nine years.\*

Mr. Nicholas Estwick, who preached Mr. Bolton's funeral sermon, gives him the following character: he says, "How industrious a student he was, and how well furnished with learning, is well known. The Lord enriched him with a great measure of grace, and his life was unreprouable. All his days he was a hard student, and laborious in his ministry, yet was never ambitious of worldly greatness. He sought his own sanctification and the sanctification of others, and was the means of plucking many out of the snares of Satan. While his preaching was searching, it was happily calculated to quicken and strengthen languished souls; for which many had cause to bless God." Our author adds, "A great man is fallen in our Israel, and there will be a great loss of him. His wife will find the loss of a gracious husband; his children a gracious father; his flock a gracious shepherd; ministers, the loss of a grave, learned, and gracious brother; the devout christian, who desired to have all his sins discovered, will find the loss of a gracious and soul-searching minister; he that would avoid sin, and make progress in holiness, will find the loss of a wise and experienced director; he that is wounded in his conscience, will find the loss of a skilful physician; the poor will find the loss of a liberal benefactor, a wise instructor, and a gracious friend; and the whole land will find the loss of a zealous and powerful wrestler with God for the continuance of its happiness."† The Oxford historian denominates him,

\* Life of Mr. Bolton.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Bolton.



“a most religious and learned puritan, a painful and constant preacher, a person of great zeal for God, charitable and bountiful; and so famous for relieving afflicted consciences, that many foreigners resorted to him, as well as persons at home, who found relief. He was so expert in the Greek language, that he could write it, and dispute in it with equal ease as in English or Latin.”\* Fuller says, “he was one of a thousand for piety, wisdom, and steadfastness; and his enemies, who endeavoured to injure him in his ministry, were never able, by all their plottings, to do him any more harm than only to shew their teeth.”† Echard styles him, “a great and shining light of the puritan party,” and says, “he was justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety.”‡

His eloquent and valuable writings will recommend his memory to the latest posterity. Most of them were published after his death by his worthy friend Mr. Edward Bagshaw, who wrote and published his life, to which reference has been already given. Mr. Bolton had been a notorious sinner, and having been reclaimed by great terrors, his writings are excellent both for conviction and consolation. His style is said to be inclining to the bombast, yet many expressions are truly great and magnificent. The beauties of imagination are chiefly apparent in his “Four Last Things;” but his most useful works are his “Directions for Walking with God,” and “Instructions for Comforting Afflicted Consciencés.” There we see the traces of a soul most intimately acquainted with God.§

It is observed of this holy and reverend divine, that he was so highly esteemed in Northamptonshire, that his people who beheld his white locks of hair, could point at him and say, “When that snow shall be dissolved, there will be a great flood;” and so it proved: for there never was a minister in that county who lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Floods of tears were shed over his grave.¶ His remains were interred in the chancel of Broughton church, where there is a half-length figure of him, with his hands erected in the attitude of prayer, resting on a book lying open before him; and underneath is a monumental

\* *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. i. p. 479, 480.

† *Fuller's Abel Redivivus*, p. 591.

‡ *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 98.

§ *Doddridge's Works*, vol. v. p. 429. Edit. 1804.

¶ *Bolton on Usury*, Pref. Edit. 1637.

inscription upon black marble, of which the following is a translation :\*

Here lies,  
peaceably sleeping in the Lord,  
the body of ROBERT BOLTON,  
who died December the seventeenth,  
in the year 1631.  
He was one of the first and  
most learned of our church.  
His other excellencies all England knoweth,  
lamenting the day of his death.

His WORKS.—1. A Discourse about the State of true Happiness, 1611.—2. Directions for Walking with God, 1625.—3. Meditations of the Life to come, 1628.—4. Instructions for the right Comforting Afflicted Consciences, 1631.—5. Helps to Humiliation, 1631.—6. The Four Last Things—Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven, 1632.—7. Assize Sermons, and other Sermons, 1632, &c.—8. Funeral Notes on his Patron Sir Augustin Nichols, 1633.—9. Carnal Professor; or, the woful Slavery of Men guided by the Flesh, 1634.—10. The Saints' sure and perpetual Guide, 1634.—11. The Saints' self-enriching Examination; or, a Treatise concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 1634.—12. The Saints' Soul-exalting Humiliation, or Soul-fattening Fasting, 1634.—13. A short and private Discourse between Mr. Bolton and one M. S. concerning Usury, 1637.—14. Devout Prayers on Solemn Occasions, 1638.—15. A Cordial for Christians in the Time of Affliction, 1640.—16. The Last Visitation, Conflicts, and Death of Mr. Thomas Peacock, B. D. and Fellow of Brazen-nose college, Oxford, 1646.

GILES THORNE was of Baliol-college, Oxford, and one of the preachers to the university. Mr. Thomas Ford of Magdalen-hall, Mr. William Hodges of Exeter college, and Mr. Thorne, having in their sermons at St. Mary's church, in the year 1631, used some bold expressions against the sentiments of the Arminians, were convened before the vice-chancellor Dr. Smith and others, as offenders against his majesty's injunctions. They were required to deliver up copies of their sermons; but perceiving the vice-chancellor's partiality and injustice, they appealed to the proctors, who received their appeal, as they had a right to do, according to the statutes of the university. Bishop Laud, receiving information of the case, complained of their appeal to the king, who heard the whole business at Woodstock; when, by the influence of this prelate, the three divines were expelled from the university; the two

\* Whalley's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 89. Edit. 1791.

proctors, for receiving their appeal, were deprived of their places; and Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter college, and Dr. Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen-hall, received a sharp reprimand for their concern in this business.\* Mr. Thorne presented a most humble petition to the bishop, desiring his favour and pardon, and a re-admission to the university; but without effect. Mr. Hodges desiring to be restored, preached a recantation sermon in St. Mary's church, and read a most degrading submission in the convocation-house, on his bended knees, before the whole assembly, and was restored as a probationer for one year, to bewail his offence and learn obedience. Mr. Ford, making no address, returned to his friends in Devonshire; when he was likely to be chosen vicar or lecturer of Plymouth. But Laud was no sooner informed of this, than he procured letters from the king, forbidding the inhabitants of the town to elect him, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure; and another to the Bishop of Exeter, commanding him not to admit him, in case he should be elected.+ Mr. Hodges afterwards conformed, and obtained considerable preferment.‡ Mr. Ford continued a nonconformist, and was ejected in 1662.§ And one Dr. Giles Thorne, in the year 1643, became archdeacon of Buckingham; but whether this be the same person, we are unable to ascertain.||

**THOMAS BEARD, D. D.**—This person was a puritan minister of considerable eminence, and a famous schoolmaster at Huntingdon. In the year 1628, when the Bishop of Winchester was accused before the house of commons, Dr. Beard was sent for as witness against him, when his information was presented to the house by Sir Daniel Norton.¶ In the year 1630, he was made justice of peace for the county of Huntingdon, being esteemed a person of great celebrity. He was schoolmaster to the famous Oliver Cromwell, who was born at this place, and who, being a youth of an aspiring and obstinate temper, often received his sharp discipline. It is observed, that when Oliver was a boy at school, “he averred that, when lying on his bed, he saw a gigantic figure, which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should hereafter

\* Rushworth's Collect. vol. ii. p. 110.

+ Pryme's Cant. Doome. p. 175, 176.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 824.

§ Palmer's Nancum. Mem. vol. ii. p. 26.

|| Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 784.

¶ MS. Remarks, p. 867.



be the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not mention the word *king*; and though he was told of the folly, as well as the wickedness of such an assertion, he still persisted in it; for which, at the request of his father, he was flogged by Dr. Beard." Cromwell, it is added, often mentioned this circumstance when arrived at the height of his glory.\* Dr. Beard and Dr. Thomas Taylor, whose memoir is given in the next article, were joint authors of "The Theatre of God's Judgments;" and he published a work entitled, "*Pedantius, Comædia, olim Cantab. acta. in Coll. Trin. nunquam ante hæc Typis evulgata,*" 1631. His portrait, prefixed to this work, says Granger,† is a neat whole length, with two scholars standing by him, a rod in his hand, and a label proceeding from his mouth, inscribed, *As in præsentis*.

THOMAS TAYLOR, D. D.—This excellent divine was born at Richmond in Yorkshire, in the year 1576, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He was the son of pious and worthy parents. His father was recorder of the town, and particularly kind and liberal to the ministers silenced for nonconformity, and the persecuted exiles from Scotland. Our divine had several brothers in the ministry. While at the university, his unwearied diligence and high attainments in good literature were manifest to all. He was, therefore, chosen fellow and Hebrew lecturer of the college. He at first much opposed the puritans, as that sect which was every where spoken against; but afterwards espoused their cause, and became a sufferer with the rest of his brethren. He was for some time silenced, and threatened to be degraded, for a sermon which he preached in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, from Canticles, v. 7. "The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my vail from me." That on which he chiefly insisted, and which gave offence to the ruling ecclesiastics, was, "that in every age, some of those who ought to have been promoters of the church's welfare, have been its persecutors." How long he remained under the unjust censure, we have not been able to learn. In the year 1606, he was again silenced by Bishop Harsnet, for nonconformity. He was afterwards violently opposed and harassed by Bishop Wren, who

\* Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 93—95, 102. Edit. 1787.

† Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 196.

used his utmost endeavours to hinder him from taking his doctor's degree. He was willing to endure any sufferings himself, rather than that the truth and cause of God should suffer.\* He was afterwards convened before the high commission, as a notorious delinquent, only for generously uniting with his brethren in promoting a private contribution for the poor afflicted ministers of the Palatinate, even after public collections failed: but it does not appear what further molestation he endured.†

Dr. Taylor, upon leaving the university, settled first at Watford in Hertfordshire, then at Reading in Berkshire, and afterwards, in 1625, he became pastor of Aldermanbury, London. At each of these places his labours were made a blessing to many souls. During his abode at Reading, a generation of young preachers was raised up under his ministry, who afterwards became bright ornaments in the church of God.‡ He preached at Paul's cross before Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards before King James. He spent thirty years in his beloved work, and continued faithful and laborious to the end. As the true servant of Christ, he was desirous to spend and be spent for the glory of God and the good of souls. With all sincerity and purity, and all zeal and meekness, he watched over the flock of Christ. His sermons were judicious, substantial, and admirably well delivered. He was an avowed enemy to popery, arminianism, and antinomianism; against the last of which he published a work, entitled, "The Use of the Law." Though envy opposed him, real worth always admired him.

This worthy divine, when in the prospect of death, was desirous to have done more service for Christ; yet he was willing to obey the summons. Having finished the work which the Lord gave him to do, he was ready to depart, and to be with Christ. During his last sickness, he experienced much joy and peace in believing, and enjoyed a triumphant confidence in Christ as his gracious conqueror of death, and hell, and sin. "Oh!" said he, "we serve a good Lord, who covers all imperfections, and gives great wages for little work, and in mercy hath provided for me some of the greatest." Having languished a short time under his complaint, he died in the beginning of the year

\* Life of Taylor prefixed to his "Works." Edit. 1653.

† Huntley's *Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 164.

‡ Newcourt's *Repert. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 918.—Clark's *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologie*, p. 126.



1652, aged fifty-five years, and his remains were interred in St. Mary's church, Aldermanbury. He was an indefatigable student, an excellent preacher, and eminently useful in his ministry. He enjoyed great comfort in being faithful, and additional comfort in being useful in the Lord's work. The welfare of his people lay near his heart. He was not so much concerned to gather tithes into his barn, as souls to Jesus Christ. He who was a guide to others, did not wander out of the way himself. He preached and practised righteousness. His life was particularly exemplary, his enemies being judges. His piety, his charity, and his moderation, were manifest to all.\* Mr. Leigh calls him "a solid and judicious divine."† Fuller, who has classed him among the fellows and learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge, says, "he was exceedingly charitable, most strict in his conversation, a grave divine, a painful preacher, and a profitable writer."‡ Wood says, "he was excellent in following and opening an allegory; and that he was highly esteemed by the London ministers, as well as by the people of his charge." On account of his profound knowledge of the scriptures, he was commonly styled, "the illuminated doctor."§ He was, says Dr. Williams, "a sound and sensible divine, and a very useful preacher; one who had penetrating views of the human heart, and of the oracles of God."||

His WORKS.—1. A Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, 1612.—2. Five Sermons occasioned by the Powder-plot, 1620.—3. Christ's Victory over the Dragon, being an Exposition of Rev. xii., 1633.—4. Christ Revealed; or, the Old Testament Explained, 1635.—5. Theatre of God's Judgments, 1648.—In this work he was assisted by Dr. Thomas Beard.—6. A Commentary upon Psalm xxxii., 1659.—7. An Exposition of Christ's Temptations, 1659.—8. A Treatise on Acts xth.—9. An Exposition on the Parable of the Sower and the Seed.—10. The Saint's Progress to full Holiness.—11. The Romish Almanack.—12. Fly from Rome.—13. A Military Sermon, the Value of Valour.—14. A Wedding Sermon.—15. The Practice of Repentance.—16. The New Creature.—17. Meditations on the Creatures, on Psalm viii.—18. The Pearl of the Gospel.—19. The Pilgrim's Profession.—20. The Conversion, Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Gunter.—21. A Glass for Gentlewomen to dress themselves by.—22. A short Introduction to the Worthy Receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—23. The Beauty of Bethel.—24. The King's Bath.—25. The Map of Rome.—26. The Rule of the Law under

\* Life of Dr. Taylor.—Clark's Lives, p. 125—127.

† Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 337.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 210, 211.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 868.

|| Christian Preacher, p. 437, 438.



the Gospel.—27. A Treatise of Circumspect Walking.—28. Principles of Christian Practice.—29. A threefold Alphabet of Christian Practice.—30. A Table, wherein is handled how far it is lawful to fly in the time of the Plague.—31. A brief View or Looking-glass of God's special Mercies to stir up our Thankfulness.—32. A Treatise of Contentment.—His "Works," as they are called, were published in one volume folio, in 1653, containing the following pieces.—33. Catechistical Exercises.—34. Jailor's Conversion.—35. Famine of the Word.—36. Peter's Repentance.—37. Judas's Repentance.—38. The Owle of the Gospel.—39. The Stranger at Home.—40. The Green and Dry Tree.—41. A Pattern of Peace.—42. A Caveat against Offences.—43. Nicolaitan Doctrine hateful.—44. Moderation in the Things of this Life.—45. A President for Preachers.—46. Excuse of a good Christian.—47. Two Contrary Masters.—48. The House of God.—49. Badge of a true Christian.—50. Jephtha's Vow.—51. New Map of Rome.—52. Labour in Vain.—53. Against following the Multitude.—54. Divers other Sermons.—This volume, with his Life prefixed by Mr. Caryl, contains also two of the former pieces.

**NATHANIEL BERNARD, A. M.**—This excellent minister was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, afterwards lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. Having preached at St. Antholin's church, May 3, 1629, he used this expression in his prayer before sermon:—"Oh Lord, open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry;" for which he was summoned by Bishop Laud to appear before the high commission at Lambeth. After long attendance, and having made his humble submission, he was dismissed. His dismissal, however, was considered as an act of great favour, and of great mildness in the high commission.\*

In the month of May, 1632, Mr. Bernard, having preached a sermon in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, spoke in favour of maintaining purity in the worship and ordinances of God, and against the introduction of Arminianism and the popish ceremonies into the church of Christ. The activity of Laud soon brought a prosecution against him in the high commission court. Upon Mr. Bernard's appearance, he was constrained to deliver a copy of his sermon to his lordship; who excepted against the following passages:—"God's ordinances for his public worship are the glory of any nation. By God's ordinances here, I understand chiefly the word, sacraments, and prayer; which, if blended and adulterated with any superstitious innovations

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362, 363.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 32.

of men, cease to be God's ordinances, and he owns them no longer. It is not the single *having* of God's ordinances of public worship, but having them in their *purity*, that dignifies a nation. God's ordinances in their purity are a sure shield to a nation from public ruin and desolation. For the proof of this, I challenge all records, both human and divine, to produce one instance wherein God punished any part of his church, with any national ruin and destruction, before they had departed from, or corrupted, his ordinances. The gospel, which is the power of God to salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those, who, from eternity, were ordained thereunto by God's absolute and immutable decree. This seems to confute their error, who think meanly and basely of the ordinances of God. These men turn their glory into shame. Is there not a generation of profane men among us, who are afraid and ashamed to preach twice on a Lord's day; to preach plainly, powerfully, and spiritually to the souls and consciences of their people, lest they should be accounted puritans?"

But the principal exception was the conclusion of his sermon, and as follows: "It is impossible, I say, that any should be saved living and dying without repentance, in the doctrine and idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, as the late Tridentine council hath decreed. My reason is, that he who thinks of going to heaven in any other way than by faith in Christ only, shall never come there. Furthermore, if God's ordinances of public worship, in their divine purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly, or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, and are the enemies and traitors of that nation. Hereby we may learn how to account of those among ourselves, (if any such there be,) who endeavour to quench the light and abate the glory of our Israel, by bringing their Pelagian errors into the doctrine of our church established by law, and the superstitions of the church of Rome into our worship of God: as, high altars, crucifixes, bowing to them, and worshipping them; whereby they very shamefully symbolize with the church of Rome, to the irreparable shipwreck of many souls. How can we think that such men are not the enemies of this church and nation? I say, they are enemies; therefore, let us take up arms against them. But what arms? The prayers of

the church are the arms of the church. Let us then pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of God, or to destruction. And let us use that prayer against them, which David used against Ahithophel, with which I will conclude: O Lord, turn the council of all these Ahithophels into folly, who go about to lay the honour of this church and nation in the dust, by depriving us of the purity of thy ordinances of public worship, which are the glory of this our nation.”\*

For these expressions in his sermon, Mr. Bernard was most cruelly censured in the high commission. He was suspended, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison; where, for six months, he was most barbarously used, and almost starved for want, of which he complained in sundry letters and petitions which he sent to the bishop; but the good man could obtain no relief, unless he would defile his conscience by a public recantation.† Whether this severe and heavy sentence was disproportionate to his crime, the impartial reader will easily determine.

The degrading recantation enjoined upon Mr. Bernard, discovers so much the intolerant spirit of Bishop Laud and his brethren in commission, that it will be proper, though at some length, to be inserted. It was, therefore, as follows: “Whereas in a sermon made by me, in this place, the 6th of May last, upon this text, *The glory is departed from Israel, because the ark of God was taken.* 1 Sam. iv. 21. I had this passage: ‘The gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those who, from eternity, were ordained thereunto by God’s absolute and immutable decree.’ And I do here publicly acknowledge, that hereby, contrary to his majesty’s command in his declaration lately published with the articles of religion, I did go beyond the general meaning of that place of scripture, and of the said articles; and drew the same to maintain the one side of some of those ill-raised differences, which his majesty’s said declaration mentioneth. And this I did rather out of a desire to thrust something into my said sermon, in affirmation of one side of the said differences, than was any way occasioned by the text I preached from. For which I here publicly profess my hearty

\* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 364, 365.

† Ibid.



“sorrow, and do humbly crave pardon of Almighty God, of his majesty, and of this congregation.

“And whereas in the said sermon, I had this passage : ‘ If God’s ordinances of public worship, in their purity, be the glory of a nation ; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, and are the enemies and traitors of that nation. Hereby we may learn how to account of those among ourselves, (if any such there be,) who endeavour to quench the light and abate the glory of our Israel, by bringing their Pelagian errors into the doctrine of our church, and the superstitious ceremonies of the church of Rome into our worship of God : as, high altars, crucifixes, bowing to them, and worshipping them ; whereby they very shamefully symbolize with the church of Rome, to the irreparable shipwreck of many souls.’ I do now, upon better information, find that many erroneous and dangerous assertions and consequences, unfit to be here expressed, may be collected and inferred from the said words. I do, therefore, hereby publicly recant all the said words, as they were used or may be inferred, to be very rashly and inconsiderately uttered, and to be very undutiful to his majesty. I do humbly refer and submit myself to his majesty’s clemency and gracious acceptance, for the interpretation of my meaning ; and I am heartily sorry, and do humbly crave pardon, that words and applications, so scandalous and dangerous to the present state of the church of England, proceeded from me.

“And whereas, in the same sermon, I had this passage : ‘ By God’s ordinances here, I understand the word, sacraments and prayer, in that purity in which the Lord Christ left them, not blinded and adulterated with any superstitious inventions of men ; for then they cease to be God’s ordinances, and he owns them no longer.’ I desire that this passage may be taken and understood as I spake and meant it, and not otherwise. Not that I hold all human inventions added to God’s ordinances, to be superstitious ; for I account that tenet not only false, but palpably absurd and foolish ; but to exclude all those human inventions, which may hinder the preservation of the doctrine and discipline of this church of England, in that purity and integrity wherein, through God’s gracious goodness, by his majesty’s laws ecclesiastical, we do enjoy them. And whereas, by some other passages in my said

“ sermon, I was, as I understand, conceived by some, not  
 “ only to cast aspersions upon the present state of our  
 “ church, and some principal members and parts thereof,  
 “ thereby to bring it and them into scandal and dislike; but  
 “ even, under some ambiguous words, to move to take up  
 “ arms for redress, although by recalling and restraining  
 “ the same in terms afterwards, and saying thus: ‘ Let us  
 “ pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of  
 “ God, or to destruction, calling them crafty Ahithophels.’  
 “ I do here acknowledge and profess I had no such inten-  
 “ tions. Neither do I know any cause why myself or any  
 “ other, should so bitterly inveigh against any in our  
 “ church. I am, therefore, heartily sorry that I gave cause  
 “ to any of the hearers to conceive so; and humbly crave  
 “ pardon for it.”\*

Mr. Bernard was required to make this vile and degrad-  
 ing recantation publicly before the congregation where he  
 had delivered the sermon; but he absolutely refused. He  
 could not sacrifice the testimony of a good conscience, deny  
 the most glaring matters of fact, and reject the counsel of  
 God against himself. Though in his numerous letters and  
 petitions to Bishop Laud, he professed his sincere sorrow  
 and repentance for any oversights and unbecoming expres-  
 sions in his sermon, he could obtain no relief. He must  
 either recant according to the above contemptible form,  
 and thus degrade himself below the brutes, or be ruined.  
 He was therefore detained in New Prison; where, after  
 languishing a long time, he died.† When the Lord  
 maketh inquisition for blood, the blood of this righteous  
 and faithful servant of Christ will assuredly be found; but  
 lamentable will be the case of that man in whose skirts it  
 shall be found.

There was another minister of the same name, who lived at  
 the same time, and was afterwards a considerable sufferer in  
 the civil wars. This person was exceedingly zealous in  
 the royal cause, and author of a sermon entitled “ A  
 Looking-glass for Rebellion, preached before the Parlia-  
 ment at Oxford,” 1644.

\* Prynne’s *Canterburies Doome*, p. 365—367.—*Rushworth’s Collections*,  
 vol. ii. p. 140—142.

† Prynne’s *Cant. Doome*, p. 367.—*Fuller’s Hist. of Camb.* p. 167.

WILLIAM AMES, D.D.—This learned divine was born in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1576, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, under the famous Mr. William Perkins. Having received the truth of the gospel, he became exceedingly zealous in its defence, avowing his opposition to every kind of error and sin, especially the delusive corruptions of popery. About the year 1610, having for some time been fellow of his college, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's church, against playing at cards and dice; which gave great offence to many of his audience, particularly because he was well known to be zealous in the cause of nonconformity.\* He beheld the approaching storm, and was obliged to quit the college and university, to prevent expulsion. Previous to his departure, he was called before Dr. Carey, master of the college, who urged him to wear the surplice; and to convince Ames's understanding, and bring him to a compliance, he warmly urged the words of the Apostle: "Put on the armour of light;" that is, said he, the *white surplice*.† The doctor's learned argument was, however, too futile to prevail upon Ames to conform. He adhered too tenaciously to the word of God, to defile his conscience by any sinful compliance; but resigned his fellowship, and forsook the university; and soon after, to escape the indignation of Archbishop Bancroft, he left the kingdom.

He fled to Holland, and was chosen minister of the English church at the Hague. But there he could find no long repose. The resentment of the prelates followed him into a foreign land. He was no sooner comfortably settled at the Hague, than Archbishop Abbot, Bancroft's successor, wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador at the court of Holland, urging Ames's removal from his present situation. The archbishop's letter to Winwood is dated March 12, 1612, which he concludes by saying, "I wish the removing of him to be as *privately* and as *cleanly* carried as the matter will permit. We are also acquainted what *English preachers* are entertained in Zealand, where—unto in convenient time we hope to give a redress."‡ What intolerance could be worse than this? Good men must enjoy peace neither at home nor in a foreign land. When Ames was about to be chosen professor of divinity at Leyden, endeavours were also used through the

\* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 159.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A.D. 1633. p. 4.

‡ Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 346, 347.



medium of the ambassador, and it was prevented. The same was also attempted, but without success, when he was chosen by the states of Friesland to the same office in the university of Franeker.\* Such were the malice and madness of his persecutors! Dr. Ames attended at the synod of Dort, and informed King James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that venerable assembly. He was famous for his controversial writings, especially against the Arminians, Bellarmine, and the English ceremonies; which, for conciseness and perspicuity, were not equalled by any of his time.†

Dr. Ames having for the space of twelve years filled the divinity chair with universal reputation, began to think the air of Franeker too sharp for his constitution. He was troubled with extreme difficulty of breathing, and thought every winter would be his last. He was, at the same time, desirous to be employed in the delightful work of preaching the gospel to his countrymen; therefore, he resigned his professorship, and accepted an invitation to the English church at Rotterdam.

Upon this exchange of situation, our divine wrote his "Fresh Suit against Ceremonies,"‡ a work of distinguished worth, shewing his great abilities and erudition. In the preface to this excellent work, he states the controversy thus: "We stand upon the sufficiency of Christ's institutions, for every thing pertaining to divine worship; and that the word of God, and nothing else, is the only standard in matters of religion. The prelates, on the other hand, would have us allow and use certain human ceremonies in christian worship. We, therefore, desire to be excused, holding them to be unlawful. Christ we know, and are ready to embrace every thing that cometh from him. But these human ceremonies in divine worship, we know not, we cannot receive them." And speaking further on the same subject, he says, "I am more than ever persuaded, that such relics of popery, and monuments of superstition, never did any good, but much evil."§ He did not,

\* Kingdom's MS. Collections, p. 141.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 254.

‡ Mr. Richard Baxter became a nonconformist by reading this masterpiece of controversy.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 13, 14.

§ Dr. Ames, in this work, relates the following anecdote:—"I was once," says he, "and, thank God, only once, before a bishop, being presented to him by the chief magistrates of a corporation, to be preacher in their town. The lowly prelate first asked them, how they durst choose a preacher without his consent. 'You,' said he, 'are to receive the preacher that I appoint; for I am your pastor;' though he never fed them.

however, live to publish it himself; but its learned editor says, that herein "Dr. Ames pleads the cause of truth both succinctly and perspicuously, as he does, indeed, most admirably in all his writings. He shewed himself a pattern of holiness, a burning and shining light, a lamp of learning and arts, and a champion for the truth, especially while he was in the doctor's chair at Franeker."

This learned divine did not long survive his removal into Holland. His constitution was already greatly shattered, and the air of that country being of no real service to him, he determined upon a removal to New England; but his asthma returning before his intended departure, put an end to his life at Rotterdam. He was there buried November 14, 1633, aged fifty-seven years.\* The following spring his wife and children embarked for New England, carrying with them his valuable library, which at that time was a noble acquisition to that country.† His son William, afterwards returning to England, was one of the ejected nonconformists, in 1662.‡

Dr. Ames filled the divinity chair, says Mr. Granger, with admirable abilities. His fame was, indeed, so great, that many came from remote nations to be educated under him. But he was much better known abroad than at home. And he adds a quotation from a piece of Mr. Hugh Peters,§ in these words: "Learned Amesius breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Friesland to live with me, because of my church's independency at Rotterdam. He was my colleague, and chosen brother to the church, where I was an unworthy pastor."|| Dr. Ames was a solid, judicious, and learned divine; a strict Calvinist in points of doctrine, and an independent in matters of discipline and church government. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.¶ Dr. Mather styles him, "the profound, sublime, irrefragable, and angelical doctor, and doubts whether he left his equal upon earth. He seldom preached

Then turning to me, he said, 'How durst thou preach in my diocese, without my leave?' So that without any other reason, except mere *lordship*, the whole corporation and I were dismissed to wait his lordship's pleasure, which I have now done more than twenty years."—*Fresh Suit*. part ii. p. 409.

\* Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 172, 173. Edit. 1778.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 3.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 296.

§ Historical and Critical Account of H. Peters, p. 69. Edit. 1751.

|| Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 198, 199.

¶ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

without tears; and when upon his death-bed, had most wonderful foretastes of glory.”\*

The learned Mosheim, speaking of our divine as a writer, particularly upon the moral science, observes, that, by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, he was excited to compose a complete body of christian morality. He says, that Dr. Ames was a native of Scotland; and that he was one of the first among the reformers who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree of accuracy and precision, into this *master-science* of life and manners. The attempt, says he, was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtile, and much more adapted to the instruction of students, than to the practical direction of private christians.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Disceptatio Scholastica inter Nec Grevinchovium et Gul. Amesius, &c., 1613.—2. Disputatio inter Amesium et N. Grevinchovium, 1615.—3. Corinis ad collationem Hagiensem, 1618.—4. Medulla Theologica, 1623.—5. Explicatio utriusque Epistolæ St. Petri, 1625.—6. De incarnatione Verbi, 1626.—7. Bellerminus enervatus, etc., 1627.—8. De Conscientia, 1630.—9. Antisynodalia, 1630.—10. Demonstratio logicæ veræ, 1632.—11. Disputatio theologica, 1632.—12. Technometria, etc., 1632.—13. A Reply to Bishop Morton, 163.—14. A Fresh Suit against human Ceremonies in God’s Worship; or, a Triplication unto Dr. Burgess’s Rejoinder for Dr. Morton, 1633.—15. A first and second Manuduction, 163.—16. Rescriptio ad responsum Grevinchovii de redemptione generali, 1634.—17. Christianæ catechescos sciographia, 1635.—18. Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis, 1635.—He is said to have been author of “Puritanismus Anglicanus,” 1610; but he only wrote a preface to it, and translated it into Latin. Mr. William Bradshaw was the author of this piece, which contains the chief opinions of the puritans, and was published in English, in 1641.—Many of the above articles passed through many editions; and several of those in Latin were afterwards published in English. He wrote many prefaces to other men’s works, and some other scattered pieces. His Latin works were collected and published at Amsterdam in 1658, in five volumes. His books are said to have been famous over all Europe.‡

\* Mather’s New Eng. b. iii. p. 3—9.

† Mosheim’s Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 429. vol. v. p. 363, 364.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 173. Edit. 1778.



JOHN CARTER, A. M.—This eminently holy man was born at Wickham, near Canterbury, about the year 1554, and educated at Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was much beloved for his great learning and piety. His favourite associates at Cambridge were Dr. Andrews, afterwards bishop of Ely, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Knewstubs, and some others; who constantly held their weekly meetings, for prayer and expounding the scriptures. The portion of scripture appointed to be read was the subject of mutual consideration; when one of them criticised upon the original, another examined its grammatical construction, another its logical analysis, another its true sense and meaning, and another collected the doctrines and uses most naturally resulting from it. By these social exercises, they became, like Apollos, eloquent and mighty in the scriptures. When Mr. Carter went to be ordained, the bishop asked him, saying, "Have you read the Bible through?" "Yes," replied Mr. Carter, "I have read the Old Testament twice through in Hebrew, and the New Testament often through in Greek; and if you please to examine me upon any particular place, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction." "Nay," said the bishop, "if it be so, I shall need to say no more;" and so, after some commendation and encouragement, he ordained him.\*

In the year 1583, he was presented to the vicarage of Bramford in Suffolk. His income at first was, indeed, very small; but by the efforts of the people, it was afterwards raised to twenty pounds a year, which was the most he ever had during his continuance there. He sought not *theirs*, but *them*, and so was content. From his first entrance upon the ministry, he laboured as a workman who needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Multitudes of people, from Ipswich and other places, flocked to hear him. But his popularity and usefulness were soon interrupted, and he was brought into trouble on account of his nonconformity. Within about a year of his taking the charge of his flock, he was suspended, with many others, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles; but it does not appear how long he remained under the ecclesiastical censure.† From his first settlement at Bramford, he saw of the travail of his Redeemer's soul, and was abundantly satisfied. By the blessing of God upon his faithful ministry and holy life, many souls were added to

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 132, 133.

† MS. Register, p. 437.

the church daily. A generation afterwards sprang up, who, despising his plain and searching ministry, complained of him to the bishop, and would have him to observe an exact conformity, or be ejected. The good man, having laboured there about thirty-four years, was now in danger of being cast aside as useless, and he very reluctantly accepted an invitation to the rectory of Belsted, in the same neighbourhood. On a change of situation, he found so much favour in the eyes of the bishop, that he was instituted without subscription or the observance of the ceremonies. Here he continued eighteen years, till his labours and his sufferings were accomplished. His ministry at Belsted, as in the former situation, was the happy means of promoting much christian piety, and the conversion of many souls.

Mr. Carter was a strict nonconformist, and could never be persuaded to observe any ceremonies against his conscience. Though he was often brought into trouble by the bishops, especially upon the publication and imposition of Bishop Wren's cruel and superstitious articles; yet, by the assistance of friends, whom God mercifully raised up, he was mostly enabled to maintain his liberty, without any sinful compliance.\* He was of a prudent and peaceable spirit, never censuring persons of real piety, though they conformed. He was plain, sincere, and upright; a man in whom there was no guile. He was kind and liberal, giving more every year to the poor than the income of his benefice. His habit, and that of his wife, were plain and homely. Those who called at his house used to say they had seen Adam and Eve, or some of the patriarchs. His conversation was affable, witty and pleasant, savouring of holiness and the kingdom of God. In conversation, with his eyes mostly lifted up towards heaven, he never failed to

\* Dr. Matthew Wren, successively bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, was a prelate of most intolerant principles, and too much inclined to the oppressions and superstitions of popery. While he sat in the chair of Norwich, "he proceeded," according to Clarendon, "so warmly and passionately against the dissenting congregations, that many left the kingdom," to the unspeakable injury of the manufactories of this country. His portrait was published and prefixed to a book, entitled, "Wren's Anatomy, discovering his notorious Pranks, &c. printed in the year when Wren ceased to domineer," 1641. In this portrait the bishop is represented sitting at a table, with two labels proceeding from his mouth, one of which is inscribed "Canonical Prayers;" the other, "No Afternoon Sermons." On one side stand several clergymen, over whose heads is written, "Altar cringing Priests." On the other side stand two men in lay habits, above whom is this inscription: "Church-wardens for Articles."—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 531.—*Clarendon's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 74.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 157.

pour excellent instruction into the minds of his companions.

This worthy divine was remarkable for sensible and witty expressions. Being once reminded of the severe proceedings of the prelates, in persecuting the servants of Christ; and that the Book of Sports tended to the universal profanation of the sabbath, he said, "I have had a longing desire to see or hear of the fall of *antichrist*; but I check myself. I shall go to heaven, and the news will come thick after."

A poor man once meeting him, and sorely bemoaning his case, said, "Mr. Carter, what will become of me? I *work* hard, and *fare* hard, and yet I cannot thrive. I know not how in the world to live." To whom he replied, "Yet still you want one thing. You must work hard, and fare hard, and *pray* hard, and then you will be sure to thrive."

This reverend divine once coming softly behind a religious man of his acquaintance, who was busily employed in tanning a hide; and giving him a pleasant tap on the shoulder, the man startled, looked behind him, and, with a blushing countenance, said, "Sir, I am ashamed that you should find me thus." To whom Mr. Carter replied, "Let Christ, when he cometh, find me so doing." "What," said the man, "doing thus?" "Yes," said Mr. Carter, "faithfully performing the duties of my calling."

Being invited to dine, together with several other ministers, at the house of a respectable magistrate in Ipswich, a very vain person who sat at table, boasted that he would dispute with any gentleman present, upon any question that should be proposed, either in divinity or philosophy. A profound silence ensued, till Mr. Carter addressed him in these words: "I will go no farther than my trencher to puzzle you. Here is a *sole*; now tell me the reason why this fish, which hath always lived in *salt* water, should come out *fresh*?" As the bold challenger did not so much as attempt any answer, the scorn and laughter of the company were presently turned upon him.\*

Mr. Carter's zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of souls continued to the last. A little before his departure, he called his daughter to him, and said, "Daughter, remember me to my son John. I shall see him no more in this life. And remember me to the rest of my children, and deliver this message from me to them all: *Stand fast in the faith,*

\* Clark's Lives, p. 136, 137.



*and love one another.*" He died in great peace and comfort, February 22, 1634, aged eighty years. During the last year of his life, the good old man was censured by Bishop Wren, for nonconformity; but death happily delivered him from all his troubles.\* He was a man of great learning and piety, an orthodox and peaceable divine, and an avowed enemy to Popery and Arminianism. He published "A Commentary of Christ's Sermon upon the Mount," and two "Catechisms."

**HUGH CLARK, A. M.**—This excellent person was born at Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire, August 15, 1563, and educated first in Jesus college, Cambridge, then in the university of Oxford. Having finished his studies at college, he first settled in the ministry at Oundle in Northamptonshire. Here he found the people in a state of most deplorable ignorance and profaneness, living in the constant profanation of the Lord's day, by Whitsun-ales, morrice-dancing, and other ungodly sports. For a considerable time he laboured to convince them of their sins, and to reclaim them from their evil ways, but without any prospect of success. Though God visited several of the ringleaders of vice, by successive remarkable judgments, they still persisted in their profane sports. They seemed to have made a covenant with death, and to have been at agreement with hell. At length, however, there was a pleasing alteration. They began to take serious heed to the ministry of the word. Their lives became reformed; and many were called to a saving knowledge of the gospel.

During Mr. Clark's abode at this place, he experienced several remarkable providential deliverances, among which was the following:—Having, in his sermon on the sabbath-day, announced the just judgment of God against certain particular sins, to which the people were much addicted, the next morning a lusty young man came to his house, wishing to see him. Mr. Clark, having invited him into his chamber, and, knowing his vicious character, sharply reproved him, and warned him of his awful danger; and God wrought so effectually upon his heart, by this pointed and faithful dealing, that the man, falling down on his knees, and crying for pardon, pulled out a dagger by which he had determined to murder him. "I came hither," said

the man, "with a full resolution to stab you, but God has prevented me. This was occasioned by your terrifying sermon yesterday. But, if you please to forgive me, I shall, by the grace of God, never attempt any such thing again." Mr. Clark freely pardoned the offence; and, after giving him suitable advice, dismissed him.\*

In the year 1590, Mr. Clark removed from Oundle, and succeeded Mr. Edward Lord, another worthy puritan, in the pastoral charge at Woolston in Warwickshire. He was chosen to the pastoral office by the people, and received a presentation to the living from Sir Roger Wigston, when he waited upon Bishop Overton for his institution. But the bishop, designing the living for one of his chaplains, endeavoured to persuade Mr. Clark to relinquish it, promising that he would bestow upon him some other preferment. Mr. Clark, considering his clear call to the place, and hoping that the Lord had there some work for him to do, told his lordship, that he could not give it up with a good conscience, and, therefore, requested his institution. The bishop, being disappointed, gave orders for the ablest of his chaplains to examine him, and dispute with him; hoping, by this means, to obtain some grounds of exception. His lordship, meeting with another disappointment, still refused to grant his institution; and Mr. Clark, after several unsuccessful journies, was under the painful necessity of threatening the bishop with a prosecution, before it could be obtained. His lordship did not forget, however, to recompense him for the affront, by sending spies to watch him, and by citing him, on the most trivial occasions, to appear in the ecclesiastical court. This was disagreeable and expensive to Mr. Clark; though he was not much interrupted by these molestations from attending to the duties of his ministry.

The angry prelate did not desist, but seemed determined, if possible, to ruin him; therefore he went himself to Woolston, to hear him preach on a sabbath morning. Though Mr. Clark saw him in the church, he was not in the least discouraged, but went through the service, and dispensed the word of life with his usual zeal and fervency. During the sermon, his lordship was much displeased, which he manifested by shifting from place to place, as if he sat upon thorns. A person observing his extreme uneasiness, without knowing who he was, fetched a cushion for him to

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 127, 128.

sit upon, then another to recline upon ; but he still appeared uncommonly restless. The public service was no sooner ended, than the bishop declared openly before the congregation, saying, " This is indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool him." To this Mr. Clark replied, " My lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beseech you to declare what I have said amiss, that I may defend myself before the people." But the bishop only answered as before, " You are indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool you," and so departed. His lordship was as good as his word : for not long after he caused the good man to feel the effect of his angry spirit. He first suspended him from preaching ; then Mr. Clark expounded the scriptures. He next suspended him from expounding ; then Mr. Clark catechized. And when the bishop suspended him from catechizing, he appointed a pious man, at the usual time of sermon, to read a chapter ; and at the end of every verse the man asked him the meaning of it, and what uses and instructions flowed from it. This so enraged the bishop, that he immediately excommunicated him. The character given of this prelate, therefore, appears very correct. " He was sufficiently severe," it is said, " to suppress those whom he suspected of nonconformity.\*" Mr. Clark, in consequence of these tyrannical oppressions, laid his case at the feet of the Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained his absolution, and so went on in his ministry.

This, indeed, irritated the bishop more than ever ; and he could never feel easy till he had again caught this reverend divine in the snare. The persecution of the nonconformists being now very hot, Mr. Clark prayed in the public congregation, though in very modest terms, *that the Lord would forgive the queen her sins* ; one of the bishop's spies being present, immediately laid the information before his lordship, who caused him to be apprehended, and for this significant crime, charged him with *treason*, and committed him to the common jail at Warwick, where he remained till the next assize. Previous to the trial, the bishop, it is said, took care to exasperate the judge ; and accordingly, in the time of his trial, he urged the jury to find him guilty. A worthy and honourable justice on the bench, at this juncture stood up and declared to the judge, that before any wrong should be done to Mr. Clark, he would kneel for him before the queen. This wrought so effectually

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 55.



ally upon the minds of the jury, that they gave a verdict of *not guilty*, and he was acquitted. Mr. Clark again laid his case at the feet of the archbishop, complaining of the hard usage he had met with from the bishop. The archbishop upon this called them both before him; and after an impartial hearing of both parties, he commanded the bishop to go to Mr. Clark's church, and on the sabbath day, the congregation being present, to make a public acknowledgment of the wrong he had done him, which the bishop performed accordingly. And, remarkable as it may appear, Bishop Overton from that time became Mr. Clark's cordial friend, and so continued as long as he lived.\*

Mr. Clark was a zealous, constant, and laborious preacher. In addition to his own parish church, he had a chapel of ease at some distance, at each of which he preached twice every sabbath, and performed all other occasional services. This he continued during the greatest part of his time at Woolston, which was nearly forty-four years. He was peculiarly careful in the management and education of his children; and God was pleased so to bless his endeavours, that he lived to behold a work of grace in all his seven children. Towards the close of life he laboured under a lingering and painful complaint, but was happily resigned to the will of God. As the hour of his dissolution approached, his conversation became more and more heavenly. He finished his course November 6, 1634, aged sixty-one years. He was a person of great learning and piety, an excellent and useful preacher, and an acute and powerful disputant.† Mr. Samuel Clark of Bennet Fink, and author of the lives of many eminent persons, was his son; and Mr. Samuel Clark, jun. and Mr. John Clark, were his grandsons: all of whom were ejected in 1662.‡

JOHN HAYDEN was minister in Devonshire, and most grievously persecuted for nonconformity. Having spoken in his sermon against setting up images in churches, he was forced to quit the county, and was afterwards apprehended in the diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harsnet, who, taking from him his horse, his money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up a close prisoner in the common jail of Norwich for thirteen weeks, where he was in danger

\* Clark's Lives, p. 129, 130.

+ Ibid. p. 130, 131.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 97, 301. iii. p. 92.

of starving for want. When the justices at the quarter sessions would have admitted him to bail, his lordship refused, and sent him under the guard of a pursuivant to the high commission in London.\* Having been kept under confinement two whole terms, or more, he was brought before the high commission in the consistory of St. Paul's, when he was deprived of his ministry, degraded from the sacred function, required to pay a fine, and sent back to prison. Being at length released from confinement, and venturing, in the year 1634, to preach occasionally, without being restored, he was again apprehended and sent to the Gatehouse by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept for some time to hard labour; then he was confined in a cold dark dungeon during the whole of winter, without fire or candle, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with heavy irons on his hands and feet, having no other food than bread and water, and only a pad of straw to lie upon. Before his release could be obtained, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart out of the kingdom in a month, and never more return. All this was done without any exception against his doctrine or his life.† Such were the shocking barbarities of the above prelates.

**RICHARD SIBBS, D. D.**—This most worthy divine was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, in the year 1577, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; where, on account of his great learning and unblamable deportment, he was soon promoted. He took his several degrees with great applause, and was first chosen scholar, then fellow of his college. While making rapid progress in literary fame, it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of his sins, and bring him to

\* Dr. Samuel Harsnet was master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and successively bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and archbishop of York. After his preferment to the see of Chichester, a petition was presented to King James, by Pembroke-hall, exhibiting their charges against him in *fifty-seven* articles, though the purport of them does not appear. The citizens of Norwich afterwards accused him to the house of commons, of putting down preaching; setting up images; praying to the east; punishing the innocent; and some other particulars. Though he protested his own innocence of most of the charges, he does not appear to have been perfectly guiltless. He is denominated "a learned and judicious divine." — *Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 129—135.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2545, 2546. Edit. 1747.

† Huntley's *Usurpations of Prelates*, p. 161, 162.

the knowledge of the gospel, by the preaching of Mr. Paul Baynes, then lecturer at St. Andrew's church. Having obtained mercy of the Lord, he resolved to devote himself to Christ in the work of the ministry; and shortly after was chosen lecturer at Trinity church. Here his preaching was numerously attended by the scholars and townsmen, and became happily instrumental in the conversion and establishment of many souls. He appears to have been *vicar* of the above church, during only the two last years of his life, the celebrated Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin having resigned in his favour.

His celebrity having spread abroad, and reached the metropolis, he was, in the year 1618, chosen preacher at Gray's-inn, London, where he became remarkably popular and useful. Besides the learned lawyers, many of the nobility and gentry, as well as citizens, flocked to hear him; and great numbers had abundant cause to bless God for the benefit which they derived from his ministry. He continued in this public situation to the end of his days. Dr. William Gouge, who frequently heard him, says, "he had sometimes a little stammering in the time of preaching, but his judicious hearers always expected some rare and excellent notions from him."\*

About the year 1625, he was chosen master of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, which, though he was a puritan, he was enabled to keep till his death. He was, however, convened before the high commission, and deprived of his fellowship and lecture, on account of his nonconformity.† His great erudition, piety, and usefulness, were not sufficient protection against the fury of the times. As master of the above house, he was eminently useful. He found the society in a very declining state; but, through his influence and exertions, it soon obtained considerable enlargement, was stored with learned and religious fellows, and became famous for genuine piety and sound literature. Soon after the above period, he was chosen one of the feoffees for buying impropriations, for which he and the others concerned in the generous undertaking were prosecuted in the star-chamber; but the prosecution was so manifestly invidious, that it was afterwards relinquished.‡ This business, however, brought no small odium upon Bishop Laud, who was the sole instigator and chief promoter of the prosecution. He was

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 143, 144.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.—Clark's Lives, p. 108.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 385, 386.



afterwards convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent, only for generously promoting a private contribution for the relief of the poor afflicted ministers of the Palatinate; but what further process was entered against him, or whether he suffered any ecclesiastical censure, we have not been able to learn.\*

Dr. Sibbs was remarkable for humility, always undervaluing his own performances. This he did, though others judged them to breathe the very spirit and life of God, to savour much of the upper world, and to come with authority and power to men's consciences. His great care, through the whole of his ministry, was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers. As a wise master-builder, and among people the most eminent for learning and piety, he mostly preached on the fundamental truths of the gospel, particularly the incarnation of the Son of God. Indeed, he is said to have preached so often on this subject, that there is scarcely one benefit flowing from it, or one holy disposition it ought to excite, which he did not sweetly unfold and apply. His thoughts and his preaching being so much directed to the humiliation of Christ, seemed to beget in himself a deep humility before God and men. He was particularly conversant with the holy scriptures, and a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto every good work. He was a zealous and faithful steward of the manifold grace of God, and one of the most celebrated preachers of his time. He enjoyed much sweet communion with God; was of a mild, quiet, and peaceable spirit; and always unwilling to provoke his superiors. He was a burning and shining light, spending himself for the profit of others. On all occasions he was very charitable to the poor of Christ's flock; and not only was his purse open to supply their temporal wants, but his very soul commiserated their spiritual necessities. During the summer season, he frequently visited persons of wealth, on which occasions he was always projecting schemes of public usefulness. By men of real worth he was universally beloved, and was particularly intimate with persons of distinguished eminence, especially the celebrated Archbishop Usher, whom he often visited in London. Dr. Sibbs died July 5, 1635, aged fifty-seven years.† “He was a grave and solid divine, and famous for piety, learning, devotion, and politeness.”‡

\* Huntley's *Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 164.

† Clark's *Lives*, p. 144, 145.—Baker's *MS. Collec.* vol. xxxviii. p. 444.

‡ Leigh on *Religion and Learning*, p. 324.

His last will and testament, now before me, breathes the spirit of true piety and generosity. He first committed his soul into the hands of his gracious Saviour, who redeemed it with his precious blood, and appeared in heaven to receive it to himself. He then gave him humble and hearty thanks that he had vouchsafed him to live in the best times of the gospel, to enjoy an interest in the comforts of it, and to honour him by calling him to publish it with some degree of faithfulness. He ordered his body to be buried according to the pleasure of his executors; and he bequeathed his real and personal estates to his only brother and other near relations, with numerous legacies to his friends and connexions.\*

This reverend divine was eminently distinguished for a meek and quiet spirit, being always unwilling to offend those in power. This trait in his character will appear from the following anecdote:—A fellowship being vacant in Magdalen college, for which Archbishop Laud recommended his bell-ringer at Lambeth, with an evident design of quarrelling with them if they refused, or of putting a spy upon them if they accepted, Dr. Sibbs, who was ever unwilling to provoke his superiors, told the fellows, that *Lambeth-house* would be obeyed; and that the person was young, and might in time prove hopeful. The fellows, therefore, consented, and the man was admitted.†

Dr. Sibbs has rendered himself famous by his numerous and excellent publications. His works, which breathe the warmest strains of evangelical piety, will transmit his fame to the latest posterity. The venerable Mr. John Dod, having perused his “Sermons of Canticles, chap. v.,” in manuscript, thus observes: “I judge it altogether unmeet that such precious matter should be concealed from public use. I judge these sermons to be a very profitable and excellent help, both to the understanding of that dark and most divine scripture, and to kindle in the heart all heavenly affections towards Jesus Christ. The whole is composed with so much wisdom, piety, judgment, and experience, that it commends itself to all who are wise for their souls. And I doubt not that they will find their understandings enlightened, their temptations answered, their fainting spirits revived, and their graces confirmed; and will have cause

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 444—446.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 605, 606.

to praise God for the worthy author's godly and painful labours."\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Bruised Reed*, 1631.†—2. *The Saints Safety in evil Times*, 1633.—3. *The Churches Visitation*, 1634.—4. *The Fountain Sealed*, 1637.—5. *Divine Meditations and Holy Contemplations*, 1638.—6. *Emanuel God with Us*, 1638.—7. *Light from Heaven*, 1638.—8. *Spiritual Jubilee*, 1638.—9. *Yea and Amen; or, Precious Promises and Privileges*, 1638.—10. *The Spiritual Man's Aim, and the Christian's Portion and Charter*, 1638.—11. *The Returning Backslider*, 1639.—12. *The Hidden Life*, 1639.—13. *Beams of Divine Light*, 1639.—14. *The Excellence of the Gospel above the Law*, 1639.—15. *Christ's Exaltation*, 1639.—16. *Evangelical Sacrifices*, 1640.—17. *Union betwixt Christ and his Church*, 1641.—18. *A Commentary on Philippians, chap. iii.*, 1647.—19. *The Glorious Feast of the Gospel*, 1650.—20. *A Commentary on 2 Corinthians, chap. i.*, 1655.—21. *An Exposition of 2 Corinthians, chap. iv.*, 1656.—22. *The Soul's Conflict*, 1658.—23. *The Saints' Cordial*, 1658.—24. *Christ's Conference with Mary*.—25. *The Key of Heaven; or, the Lord's Prayer opened*.—26. *Sermons of Canticles, chap. v.*

**JOHN AVERY** was a puritan minister of great piety, but driven from his native country by the persecution of Archbishop Laud; when, in the year 1634, he fled to New England. Upon his arrival, he settled for a short time at Newbury; but, receiving an invitation to Marble-Head, he determined upon a removal to that place. Having embarked in a small vessel, together with Mr. Anthony Thacker, another worthy minister, there arose a most tremendous storm, by which the vessel struck against a rock and was dashed to pieces. The whole company, consisting of twenty-three persons, got upon the rock, but were successively washed off and drowned, except Mr. Thacker and his wife. Mr. Thacker and Mr. Avery held each other by the hand a long time, resolving to die together, till by a tremendous wave, the latter was washed away and drowned. The moment before this happened, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, saying, "We know not what the pleasure of God may be. I fear we have been too unmindful of former deliverances. Lord, I cannot challenge a

\* Clark's Lives, p. 144.

† This is a book well known, having passed through numerous editions. Mr. Baxter informs us, that he, in a great measure, owed his conversion to his reading this book. This circumstance alone, observes Mr. Granger, would have rendered the name of Sibbs memorable.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 4.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 176.



promise of the preservation of my life ; but thou hast promised to deliver us from sin and condemnation, and to bring us safe to heaven, through the all-sufficient satisfaction of Jesus Christ. This, therefore, I do challenge of thee." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he was swept into the mighty deep, and no more seen. Mr. Thacker and his wife were also washed off the rock ; but after being tossed in the waves for some time, the former was cast on shore, where he found his wife a sharer in the deliverance. The island was from that time called Thacker's Woe, and the rock, Avery's Fall. This disaster occurred August 14, 1635.\*

JOHN ROGERS, A. M.—This excellent divine was educated in the university of Cambridge, and was many years the famous minister of Dedham in Essex. He was a near relation of Mr. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, who encouraged him in his studies, and supported him at the university. He was at first so addicted to vice, that while he was at Cambridge, he sold his books and spent the money. Notwithstanding this base ingratitude, his kinsman procured him a fresh stock of books, and sent him again to Cambridge ; but still continuing a profligate, he sold his books, and spent the money as before. Having wasted his substance a second time, Mr. Rogers determined to cast him off totally ; but, by the persuasions of his wife, he was at length induced to make another trial. He therefore procured him books, and sent him to the university a third time ; and, the grace of God changing his heart, he became an illustrious ornament to his college, and a man of most exemplary piety. Afterwards, Mr. Richard Rogers, seeing what the Lord had done for his kinsman, used to say, " I will never despair of any man, for John Rogers's sake."†

Mr. Rogers became vicar of Hemingham in Norfolk, in the year 1592.‡ Having continued some time in this situation, he became minister of Haverhil in Suffolk, where he succeeded Mr. Lawrence Fairclough,§ in 1603. After-

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 77.

† Firmin's Real Christian, p. 76. Edit. 1670.

‡ Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 686.

§ This was the father of the excellent Mr. Samuel Fairclough, the ejected nonconformist. He was a learned and able divine, and a solid, eloquent, and useful preacher. He died in the year 1603. By preaching a thanksgiving

wards he removed to Dedham, where he continued the rest of his days. He was a grave and judicious divine. His great gift lay in the delivery of the solid truth which he had prepared with a peculiar gesture and elocution, so that few heard him without trembling at the word of God.\* He was a most popular and useful preacher. God was pleased to own and bless his labours above most others, especially in awakening careless sinners. He was indeed one of the most awakening preachers of the age. Bishop Brownrigg used to say, "John Rogers will do more good with his *wild notes*, than we (the bishops) with our *set music*."† His congregation, on lecture days, was collected from all the country round about; and his church was not only thronged, but numerously surrounded by such as could not gain admittance.‡

Mr. Rogers was a thorough puritan, yet of a most humble and peaceable behaviour. He loved all who loved Christ, and was greatly beloved by them. But in the year 1629, for refusing conformity to the superstitious and tyrannical impositions of Bishop Laud, his lecture was suppressed.§ This was a great affliction to holy Mr. Rogers; who, concerning those impositions, used to say, "Let them take me and hang me up by the neck, if they will but remove those stumbling-blocks out of the church."|| It does not appear whether he was ever restored to his lecture. He died October 15, 1636.¶ Mr. John Knowles, afterwards silenced in 1662, closed his eyes and preached his funeral sermon.\*\* Mr. Matthew Newcomen, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, succeeded Mr. Rogers in his ministry at Dedham.++

It is related of Mr. Giles Firmin, who also was one of the ejected nonconformists, that he was converted when a boy at school, by the ministry of Mr. Rogers. He went late to hear his lecture, and crowded to get into the church. Mr. Rogers, observing young Firmin's great earnestness,

sermon to a very crowded audience in Haverhil church, on the accession of King James, he caught a violent cold, which occasioned his death the following day.—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. p. 154.—*Meen's MS. Collec.* p. 264.

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 294.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 106.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 191.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

|| Mather's New England, b. iii. p. 113.

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445.

\*\* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 174.

++ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 196.

with that of some other youths, to obtain room, in his usual freedom and solemnity cried out, "Here are some young ones come for Christ. Will nothing serve you but you must have Christ? Then you shall have him;" and so proceeded in his discourse. This made so deep and lasting an impression on his mind, that he thence dated his conversion.\*

Mr. Rogers was author of several excellent pieces. His method, as a writer, is popular, his language familiar, yet often energetic, and his strain evangelical, animated, and experimental.†

His WORKS.—1. The Doctrine of Faith, 1627.—2. An Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter, 1659.—3. A Treatise of Love.—4. Sixty Memorials of a godly Life.

JOHN MAVERICK was minister at some place near Exeter, and of good repute among the puritans. Towards the end of the year 1629, a congregational church was formed in the New Hospital at Plymouth; on which occasion a day of solemn fasting and prayer was observed, when Mr. White of Dorchester preached in the morning, and in the afternoon the pious people chose the two famous preachers, Mr. Maverick and Mr. John Warham, to the office of pastors, when they signified their acceptance of the charge. The persecution of the nonconformists was now become exceedingly hot in every corner of the land; therefore these good people, together with their ministers, resolved to transport themselves to a foreign land. They wished to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel without human corruptions; and the blessing of religious liberty without human oppressions. The above step was preparatory to their departure; and the year following they sailed for New England.‡ Upon their arrival in the new colony, they settled at Dorchester, where Mr. Maverick continued pastor of the church to the day of his death. This was the third church formed in New England. In the year 1636, Mr. Richard Mather became his assistant; and upon Mr. Maverick's death, soon after, he became his successor in the pastoral office.§

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 298.

† Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 454.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 200, 204.

§ Hist. of New Eng. p. 42, 74.



HENRY GELLIBRAND, A. M.—This learned person was born in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London, November 17, 1597, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford. Having finished the requisite studies at the university, he was for some time curate at Chiddingston in Kent. Afterwards, by attending Sir Henry Savile's lectures on the mathematics,\* he became so much in love with that science, that though he had the most flattering prospect of preferment in the church, he resolved to forego every thing for a close application to this branch of learning. He therefore contented himself with his own private patrimony, which about this time, upon the death of his father, came into his hands. At the same time he entered himself a student at Oxford, and made the study of the mathematics his principal employment. During the period of his close application, he prosecuted his studies with so much ardour and success, and so greatly excelled in that science, that in two or three years he was admitted to a familiarity with the most distinguished masters. Among other celebrated scholars, Mr. Henry Briggs, the Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, shewed him particular countenance and favour. This, in a few years, was improved to so great a degree of intimacy and friendship, that the professor communicated to him all his notions and discoveries.

Upon the death of the ingenious Mr. Edmund Gunter, he became a candidate for his professorship in Gresham college. On this occasion he procured a certificate from the rector of the parish in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the clergy in Kent, giving a high character of his learning and piety; and another from the president, vice-president, and fellows of Trinity college, Oxford, which is conceived in very strong terms, and acknowledges not only his assiduity in his studies, but his great frankness in the communication of knowledge, and his disinterested-

\* Sir Henry Savile, whose name is often mentioned, was a person of great celebrity in his day. He was wonderfully skilled in the Greek language and the mathematics, in the latter of which he voluntarily read public lectures in the university. He afterwards went abroad; and by improving himself in every branch of useful literature, he became a most accomplished gentleman. He was warden of Merton college, Oxford, thirty-six years, which he governed with great diligence and integrity, making it his chief care, night and day, to improve it in riches and all kinds of good literature. By his munificence the university was greatly enriched by legacies of money, printed books, and rare manuscripts. He is styled, "That magazine of learning, whose memory shall be honourable amongst the learned and the righteous for ever."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 3598—3600. Edit. 1747.

ness and contentment with his own little patrimony, that the pursuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his studies. In all probability these papers had great weight, since, within a few days, January 2, 1626, he was elected professor of astronomy in that college.\*

Mr. Gellibrand was a decided puritan, and an enemy to the errors and superstitions of popery. In the year 1631, his servant, William Beale, by his encouragement, published an almanack, in which the popish saints, usually put into our calender, were omitted; and the names of the saints and martyrs, mentioned in Mr. Fox's "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," were printed in their stead, exactly as they stand in Mr. Fox's calender. This gave great offence to Bishop Laud, who immediately cited them both into the high commission court. When the case came to be examined, and it appeared that other almanacks of the same kind had been printed in former times, both Mr. Gellibrand and his servant were acquitted by Archbishop Abbot and the whole court, excepting Laud. This tyrannizing ecclesiastic, finding the court so favourable towards Mr. Gellibrand, stood up, and in great anger declared, "That the queen herself (a notorious papist) sent for him, and particularly complained to him against this almanack, which gave offence to those of her religion; and desired him to prosecute the author and suppress the book; therefore, he hoped that he should not go unpunished in this court." But the court still persisted in acquitting him; upon which the bishop again stood up, and in great fury addressed Mr. Gellibrand, saying, "Sir, remember you have made a faction in this court, for which you ought to be punished; and know that you are not yet discharged. I will sit in your skirts. For I hear that you keep conventicles at Gresham college, after your lectures are ended." His grace then ordered a second prosecution against him in the high commission, which so deeply affected the good man's spirits, that it brought a complaint upon him, of which he afterwards died.†

He lived in the closest intimacy with Mr. Henry Briggs, at whose death, and by his solicitation, Mr. Gellibrand undertook the perfecting and publishing his celebrated

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2188. Edit. 1747.

† As Laud could not succeed in having Mr. Gellibrand censured, and his almanacks burned by the common hangman, the papists bought them all up, and caused them to suffer martyrdom in the flames.—*Prynne's Canterburies Doome*, p. 182.

work entitled "British Trigonometry, or the Doctrine of Triangles," 1633. He was pressed to the publication of it by various eminent persons, to whom he gave the fullest satisfaction, as well as to the literati in Holland, where it was reprinted, and received with great applause. During the same year, upon the publication of Mr. Thomas James's "Account of his Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, and Wintering in Hudson's Bay," his piece, entitled "An Appendix concerning Longitude," was annexed to the work. It was at that season very much admired, and, notwithstanding the great improvements that have been since made, it may even now be very justly styled a curious and a useful piece.

It is commonly believed that Mr. Gellibrand was the first who discovered the variation of the magnetic needle, the truth of which is founded upon the credit of a very great man, who has positively affirmed it as a fact. Some are, however, disposed to doubt the correctness of his statement. Be this as it may, it is certain that he was deeply versed in the subject, and upon which he wrote a very learned book, entitled "A Discourse Mathematical on the Variation of the Magnetic Needle. Together with the admirable Diminution lately Discovered," 1635. This work, styled very curious, has been, and ever will be, esteemed by competent judges.\* He wrote several other pieces in his particular profession, which were published some before and some after his death, a list of which is given below. These excellent productions of his pen added greatly to the reputation which he had before obtained, and raised very high expectations of his future greatness. There are others of his labours yet remaining in manuscript, which, it is said, are no way inferior, either in merit or importance, to those that are published. All these taken together fully shew that his diligence and application were equal to his sagacity and penetration, and that he did great honour to the learned college to which he belonged; and fully answered the hopes that were entertained of him, when his friends at the university recommended him thither, as one possessed of a great genius for mathematical learning, and was willing that the world should enjoy the benefit of his studies. His situation in the college, where he had free converse with learned men, and made uncommon progress in his mathematical inquiries, gave him an opportunity, it is said, of

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2189, 2452.



contributing much to the improvement of navigation, which, if he had lived longer, would probably have been more indebted to his labours.\* He died February 9, 1637, aged forty years. His remains were interred in St. Peter's church, Broad-street, London; when Dr. Hannibal Potter, formerly his tutor at Trinity college, preached his funeral sermon, and gave excellent commendations of his character.† He was a person of great learning, piety, and worth.‡

His WORKS, in addition to the pieces already noticed.—1. A Preface to the *Sciographia* of John Wells, 1635.—2. An Institution Trigonometrical, explaining the Doctrine of the Dimensions of plain and spherical Triangles, after the most exact and compendious way, by tables of sines, tangents, secants, and logarithms; with the application thereof to questions of Astronomy and Navigation, 163..—3. An Epitome of Navigation, 1674.—4. Several necessary Tables pertaining to Navigation, 1674.—5. A Triangular Canon Logarithmical; or, a Table of Artificial Sines, Tangents, &c., 1674.—6. Two Ciliads; or, the Logarithms of absolute numbers, from an unite to 2000, 1674.—7. An Appendix, containing the Use of the Forestaff, Quadrant, and Nocturnal in Navigation, 1674.

HENRY RAMSDEN, A. M.—This worthy person was the son of Mr. Goeffry Ramsden, born at Greetland, in the parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. In the year 1621 he was chosen fellow of Lincoln college, in the same university; and five years afterwards, having made uncommon advancement in theological studies, he removed from that seat of learning, and became a preacher in London, where, says Wood,§ “he was much followed for his edifying and puritanical sermons.” On the death of Mr. Hugh Ramsden, his elder brother, he was made vicar of Halifax, where he continued the remainder of his days. He was inducted to the living in the year 1629, and died March 7, 1637, having constantly maintained an unblemished character. After his death were published his four sermons, entitled, “A Gleaning of God's Harvest,” 1639. His remains were interred in the chancel of Halifax church, where a monumental inscription was

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2190, 2191.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 522.

‡ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 83, 336.

§ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 522.

erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation :\*

HENRY RAMSDEN, Master of Arts,  
second son of GOEFFRY RAMSDEN, of Greetland, near Halifax,  
sometime fellow of Lincoln college,  
in the university of Oxford,  
and afterwards vicar of Halifax.

To his very celebrated and renowned predecessor and brother HUGH,  
he was no unworthy successor.

A man of universal learning,  
and of the most approved integrity in his family.

Whatever we admire in the learning, or  
venerate in the sanctity of others,  
shone conspicuously in him, who was the  
ornament alike of literature and of piety.

For more than eight years,  
he was a remarkable example of diligence in his office ;  
during which time

he vigilantly watched over his church,  
and was a burning and a shining light,  
both in his life and doctrine.

A faithful pastor of his people.

A most courageous defender of the cause of the poor.

A firm advocate of the peace of the church.

He was esteemed a quick, yet cautious and equitable  
distributor of public justice :

A chief promoter of good order and civil government.

He was seized with a violent fever,  
leaving his affectionate blessing,  
and kind remembrance with all,  
not without just and public sorrow,  
he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Lord,  
sweetly supported by the hope of the Resurrection,  
he fell asleep March 7,  
1637.

This Monument was erected by his younger  
brother, WILLIAM RAMSDEN,  
rector of Edgmond, in the county of Salop,  
lamenting his death.

ROBERT CATLIN was a puritan divine of great eminence,  
a person of exemplary piety, and for many years the venerable and faithful minister at some place in Rutlandshire. Being no longer able to attend to his numerous pastoral duties, he gave up the charge of his flock, and removed to Barham, near Ipswich, in Suffolk, that he might die among

\* Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 385, 501. Edit. 1775.

his children. When he lay upon his death-bed, after hearing a relation of the cruel and barbarous sentence pronounced upon the Bishop of Lincoln in the star chamber, he broke out in these words in the presence of a number of respectable persons: "Alas! poor England," said he, "thou hast now seen thy best days. I, that am fourscore years old, and have in all my time seen no alteration in religion, nor any foreign enemy setting foot in England, nor any civil wars among themselves, do now foresee evil days a coming, but shall go to the grave in peace. Blessed be that God whom I have served, who hath accepted my weak service, and will be my exceeding great reward;" and in a few hours after, he left this world of sin and sorrow, to enter upon the joy of his Lord. He died July 24, 1637, aged eighty years, and his remains were interred in Barham church, when Dr. Young of Stow-Market preached his funeral sermon. Mr. Catlin had two sons in the ministry, William and Zachary. The former was witness in favour of Bishop Williams at his trial, for which he was deeply censured; and the latter was minister at Thurston in Suffolk, in the year 1652, when he was sixty-nine years of age. They both appear to have been puritans.\*

JOSEPH MEDE, B. D. — This celebrated scholar was born at Burdon in Essex, in the month of October, 1586, and descended from a respectable family in that county. He received his grammar learning first at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, then at Wethersfield in Essex. While at the latter place, he bought Bellarmine's Hebrew Grammar, and, without the assistance of a master, obtained considerable knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. In the year 1602, he was sent to Christ's college, Cambridge, where he became pupil to Mr. Daniel Rogers, took his academical degrees, and was afterwards chosen fellow of the house. He gained a most distinguished reputation, and became one of the most celebrated scholars of the age. He was an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathematician, a good anatomist, a great philologist, an excellent textuary, and particularly happy in making the scripture expound itself. He is said to have been "as deeply versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, and as accurately skilled in the Greek and Latin fathers, as any man living." When the famous Archbishop

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445, 446.



Usher was compiling his "*Chronologia Sacra*," he applied to Mr. Mede for assistance, saying, "I have entered upon the determination of the controversies which concern the chronology of sacred scripture, wherein I shall in many places need your help."\*

Mr. Mede, furnished with these endowments, was a most accomplished tutor. It was his constant custom to require the attendance of his pupils in the evening, to examine them relative to the studies of the day; when the first question he proposed to each was, "What doubts have you met with in your studies to-day?" For he supposed that to doubt nothing, and understand nothing, was nearly the same thing. Before he dismissed them to their lodgings, after having solved their questions, he commended them and their studies, by prayer, to the protection and blessing of God. Some of his pupils afterwards became distinguished ornaments both for piety and good literature. He was a most laborious student; and, on account of his habitual propensity to be among his books, he called his study his *cell*. Yet he was far from affecting an unprofitable solitude. No man was more free and open in conversation, especially among ingenious and inquiring scholars. In such company, he would with the greatest pleasure, and to the utmost of his ability, communicate whatsoever was useful.

He was a person of most exemplary candour and moderation. He would not love a person the less, who differed from him in matters of sentiment. These were some of his favourite expressions: "I never found myself prone to change my hearty affections to any one, for mere difference of opinion. There are few persons living who are less troubled than I am, to see others differ from them. If any man can patiently suffer me to differ from him, it doth not affect me how much or how little he may differ from me." Though he was a most celebrated scholar, and his writings were highly admired among learned men, both at home and abroad, he had a very low opinion of himself and his own performances. He was always troubled to hear himself or his productions extolled. He would merely own some diligence, and a portion of study, with freedom from prejudice, as his best endowments.

He was a man of a most amiable and peaceable spirit; and his thoughts were much employed on the generous design

\* Life of Mr. Mede prefixed to his "*Works*."

of effecting an universal pacification among protestants. He was, however, a friend to free inquiry. "I cannot believe," said he, "that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth; but I fear that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a blessing." He discovered a strong aversion to popery, and abhorred all idolatry and superstition. He led the way in shewing that papal Rome was one principal object of the Apocalyptic visions; and was the first who suggested that the *dæmoniacks* in the New Testaments were not *real possessions*, but persons afflicted with lunacy and epilepsy. By the recommendation of Archbishop Usher, he was elected provost of Trinity college, Dublin, but declined accepting the preferment; as he did also when it was offered him a second time. On the small income of his fellowship, he was extremely generous and charitable; and by temperance, frugality, and a care to avoid unnecessary expenses, he constantly appropriated a tenth part of it to charitable uses.\*

Mr. Mede loved peace, unity, good order, and whatever promoted the beauty, the honour, and safety of the protestant reformation. Though he was certainly more conformable than many of his brethren, he did not so decidedly approve of the discipline and government of the established church, as the writer of his life has endeavoured to represent. He was suspected of puritanism; and having united himself with the puritans in the university, he is justly denominated one of them.† He maintained a constant friendship with several eminent nonconformists, and kept up a regular correspondence with them; among whom were Dr. Ames and Dr. Twisse, many of whose letters are preserved in his works. His sentiments relative to the established church, and its persecuting severities, are, indeed, sufficiently manifest from his own writings. In one of his letters to a learned friend, though expressed in very modest language, he discovers his puritanical opinions. Addressing his friend on the subject of a universal pacification among protestants, which he was particularly desirous to see accomplished, he says, "But our church, you know, goes upon differing principles from the rest of the reformed, and so steers her course by another rule than what they do. We look after the form, rites, and ceremonies of antiquity, and endeavour to bring our own as near as we can to that pattern. We suppose the reformed churches have departed

\* Life of Mr. Mede.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. p. (8.)

farther therefrom than they needed, and so we are not very solicitous to comply with them; yea, we are jealous of such of our own as we see over-zealously addicted to them, lest it be a sign they prefer them before their mother. This, I suppose, you have observed, and that this disposition in our church is of late very much increased. This, I have always feared, would be no small hinderance on our part, from the desired union, and I pray God it may fall out beyond my expectations." Thus he expressed his puritanical dissent from the spirit and principles of the ecclesiastical establishment. In the same connexion he also adds, "I live in the university, where we move only as we are moved by others; and that discretion is expected at our hands, who are of the inferior orbs, as not to move without our superiors. If any one transgress this rule, and offer to meddle in any thing that concerns the public, before the state and those in place declare themselves, he is taken notice of as *factionous* and a *busy-body*; and if he be once thus branded, and it be objected to his prejudice, though many years after, all the water of the Thames will not wash him clean, as we see by daily experience."\* Here he justly exposes and censures the intolerant proceedings of the ecclesiastical governors.

Mr. Mede was the first, says Fuller, who broached the opinions of the fifth-monarchy men; which, however, they afterwards carried to a greater extent than he ever intended.† He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, and is styled "most learned in mystical divinity."‡ The virtuosi abroad were pleased to rank him among the most learned men in the nation; and observing his want of preferment, they said, "that Englishmen deserved not to have such brave scholars, since they made no more of them."§ His numerous and learned writings were collected and published in one volume folio, entitled, "The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-learned Joseph Mede," 1672; and passed through several editions. In his last sickness, though his pains were very great, he discovered much christian meekness and quiet submission to the will of God. He possessed his soul in patience, and in him patience had its perfect work. He died October 1, 1638, aged fifty-two years. His remains were interred with great funeral solemnity,

\* Mede's Works, p. 865.

† Worthies, part i. p. 335.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 47.



in the inner chapel of University college. Mr. Alsop preached his funeral sermon to a crowded audience, at St. Mary's church, from Gen. v. 24. *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.* His monumental inscription, of which the following is a translation, is particularly descriptive of his character :\*

Here are preserved  
the remains of that humble man  
JOSEPH MEDE, B. D.  
Fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge.  
He was a friend of the muses,  
and was interred in University college.  
He studied all languages, cultivated all the arts,  
and joined to philosophy and the mathematics  
all the Egyptians concealed, or the Chaldeans discovered,  
especially in chronology and history,  
and above all things, theology,  
the queen of all sciences.  
In explaining of which, he entered into  
the most secret reasons of prophesy,  
and dragged the Roman beast (the pope)  
from the apocalyptical den.  
He most perseveringly struggled with the  
greatest difficulties, and became a most successful  
interpreter of the sacred mysteries ;  
so that the critics in the hieroglyphics  
might readily perceive that ZAPHNATH PAANEATH  
lived again in our JOSEPH.  
He was a bigot to no party,  
but loving truth and peace,  
he was just to all ;  
very candid to his friends, benignant to others :  
holy, chaste, and humble  
in his language, wishes, and habits.  
But being very familiar with the prophets,  
he foresaw the troubles  
which then threatened the church and the state.  
He reached the heavenly port,  
in the year of our Lord 1638,  
aged fifty-two.

Mr. Mede's last will and testament, subscribed in the presence of John Pye, George Nixon, and Joane Serle, was as follows : " In the name of God, amen. I, Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's college, being sick in body, but in health of mind, do constitute this my last will and testament. I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator, hoping at the last day to be raised in glory, through the merits of his Son and my Saviour Jesus Christ ; and giving hearty

\* Life of Mr. Mede, p. 35.

thanks for all his favours undeservedly conferred upon me, do thus dispose of my temporal goods which he hath given me : First, I bequeath to the master and fellows of Christ's college £100, to be employed towards the intended building. Secondly, I give to my sister £40, and to her children, and to the children of my sister deceased, to each of them £20, and to two of them who are my godsons £40 each. Thirdly, I give to the poor of the town of Cambridge, to be distributed among them, £100. Fourthly, I give to my pupil John Pye, £5, and to my sister Crouch £4. Lastly, I give all the remainder of my goods to the master and fellows of Christ's college, to be expended toward the adorning of the college chapel. And of this my last will I do constitute my executor, John Alsop, fellow of Christ's college."\*

**JOHN WORKMAN.**—This persecuted servant of Christ was born near Lasborough in Gloucestershire, and educated in the university of Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he became the laborious and pious lecturer at St. Stephen's church, in the city of Gloucester; where, for preaching against images in churches, he met with most oppressive and cruel usage from Archbishop Laud. He said, in one of his sermons, "That pictures or images were no more ornaments to a church than stews were to a commonwealth.—That for a person to have an image of any saint, but especially of our Saviour, in his house, is unlawful.—And that any man keeping such pictures or images in his house, if it be not flat idolatry, it is little better." This was the principal charge brought against him. Some other things were, however, added : as, that he used certain harsh expressions against lascivious and mixed dancing, especially on the Lord's day, only citing the words of the Waldenses in their censuring the same practice; and that he prayed for the states of Holland, the King of Sweden, and other foreign princes, before he prayed for the King of England; though, in this, he followed the exact order of the Book of Common Prayer. These things were among the charges brought against him; but the principal stress was laid upon his expressions against images. For these crimes Mr. Workman was convened before the high commission at Lambeth, when he

endeavoured to vindicate what he had said, by an appeal to the testimony of the most celebrated authors, but especially the homilies. Though he is said to have justified every syllable in his sermon, this only served to increase the wrath of the archbishop, by whose tyrannical influence, April 25, 1635, the good man received the following cruel sentence:—"He was suspended from the office and function of his ministry, excommunicated, required to make a recantation of his erroneous and scandalous doctrine, the next court-day at Lambeth, in such manner and form as the commissioners should appoint; this recantation to be published before the public congregation in the cathedral church and the church of St. Michael's, Gloucester; and he was condemned in costs of suit, and cast into prison."\*

Mr. Workman being a man of singular piety, learning, wisdom, and moderation, which even the archbishop himself acknowledged; and having been a most painful and diligent preacher in the city of Gloucester upwards of fifteen years, the corporation, by unanimous consent, and under the common seal, granted him, in the year 1633, an annuity of twenty pounds a year. This was designed as a public acknowledgment, and a just compensation for his great pains in preaching, and visiting the sick; and was found particularly serviceable towards supporting his numerous family of children. For this honourable act of kindness and liberality to their worthy minister, John Buckston, the mayor of the city, Mr. Wise, the town clerk, and several of the aldermen, were, by the instigation of Laud, brought before the council, then prosecuted in the high commission court, by which they were great sufferers; and, to the perpetual reproach of the archbishop, Mr. Workman was deprived of his annuity. The good man, having suffered many months imprisonment, after much solicitation, obtained his liberty; and to provide for his numerous starving family, was obliged to teach school. Laud no sooner heard of this, than he prohibited him from teaching children, and warned him to do the contrary at his peril. Being forbidden to teach school, Mr. Workman obeyed the prohibition, and, to procure a subsistence, began to practise physic also.† In these painful circumstances,

\* Pryne's Cant. Doome, p. 103—107.

† It is observed that Archbishop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious soul, but of too warm and too positive a nature. He was full of fire, and had too much zeal for the church. Though his fire and his zeal



the distressed servant of Christ was received into the house of one Mr. Kyrle of Wallford, but without any cure or employment. The bishop of the diocese being determined, in the year 1638, to prosecute him for nonconformity, he is said to have suddenly fled out of the diocese;\* yes, he fled to that place where neither bishop nor archbishop could hurt him; where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. For the poor distressed man sunk under the heavy pressure of his poverty and accumulated afflictions, which, about the above period, sent him to his grave, and delivered him from all his sorrows.† Mr. Workman was an excellent and useful preacher, and the honoured instrument of greatly advancing the knowledge of Christ, and the power of godliness, in the city of Gloucester.‡ Mr. Giles Workman, another worthy puritan, of whom a memoir will be found in its proper place, was his brother.

**WILLIAM WHATELY, A. M.**—This worthy minister was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the month of May, 1583, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. His father, Mr. Thomas Whately, was several times mayor of the borough, and many years a justice of the peace. Young Whately was from a child trained up in the knowledge of the scriptures, and found them able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ. During his abode at the university, he was a constant hearer of the celebrated Dr. Chadderton and Mr. Perkins, by whose ministry his early piety was further promoted. He was put under the care and tuition of Mr. Potman, a man of eminent piety, learning and diligence. "Our tutor," says Mr. Henry Scudder, "called all his pupils into his chamber every evening for prayer, when he required us to give an account of the sermons we had heard on the Lord's day; and when any of us were at a stand, he used to say, 'Whately, what say you?' And he would repeat it as readily as if he had preached the sermon himself: but while this excited our tutor's love and our wonder, it awakened our envy and ill-will."§

were apparent on the present occasion, his uprightness and his piety were certainly very deficient.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 107, 108.—*Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 32.—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part i. p. 144.

\* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 554.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 108.

‡ Clark's *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologie*, p. 303.

§ Scudder's *Life of Mr. Whately*, prefixed to his "Prototypes."

Mr. Whately afterwards married the daughter of Mr. George Hunt,\* an eminent preacher, by whose urgent recommendation he entered upon the work of the ministry. In the year 1605, having taken his degrees in arts, he was chosen lecturer of Banbury, his native place; and in about four years, having gained uncommon applause, he was called to the pastoral office, and presented to the vicarage, which he enjoyed nearly thirty years, even to his death.

This excellent servant of Christ was no sooner settled in the ministry than he met with great opposition from the ruling ecclesiastics, on account of his nonconformity.† He published a sermon, entitled “The Bride Bush; or, the Duties of Married Persons, by performing of which marriage shall prove a great help to such as do now find it a little hell;” for which he was prosecuted in the high commission court. The dangerous errors said to be contained in this sermon were the two following:—1. The committing the sin of adultery, by either of the married persons, doth dissolve and annihilate the bond of marriage.—2. The wilful and malicious desertion of either of the married persons, doth in like manner dissolve the bond of marriage. For publishing these opinions, especially as he was a puritan, he was complained of to the Archbishop of Canterbury, convened before the high commission, and required to make satisfaction for his grievous offence. Upon his appearance before the ecclesiastical judges, he declared that he could make no satisfaction; but, according to our author, he afterwards recanted, May 4, 1621, and was then dismissed.‡ If this account be correct, is it not extremely probable that he was prosecuted, not so much for the dangerous errors in his sermon, as because he was a nonconformist? Yet, supposing this was not the case, did not these ecclesiastical judges professedly reject the *infallibility* of the pope? And did not their conduct, on the present occasion, savour too much of the same principle?

Mr. Whately and several of his brethren delivered a lecture alternately at Stratford-upon-Avon. On account of its great usefulness, it was continued many years, till it was put down by the severity of the prelates. They considered

\* This Mr. George Hunt was son to Mr. John Hunt, an excellent confessor in the bloody days of Queen Mary, who was condemned to be burnt, but was saved by the unexpected death of the queen.—*Scudder's Life of Mr. Whately*.—*Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 751—753.

† Clark's *Lives* annexed to his *Martyrologie*, p. 318.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 529.

the lecture as a means of promoting nonconformity ; therefore, however useful it might be in effecting the conversion and salvation of souls, it was deemed unfit to be continued. Accordingly, the Bishop of Worcester observes, that after this lecture was discontinued, his diocese was less troubled with nonconformists.\*

Mr. Whately was a man of distinguished eminence. He possessed excellent endowments, which he unreservedly employed for the advancement of the glory of God and the happiness of men. He was eloquent and mighty in the scriptures ; and his speech and his preaching were not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power. His labours were not in vain in the Lord. " For it pleased God," says Mr. Scudder, " to put so great a seal upon his ministry, that *many thousands* of souls were converted and established by his ministerial labours." As a good shepherd of Christ, he exercised much care over his flock. He visited them from house to house, without respect of persons, resolving their doubts, and giving them suitable instruction. He had a tender affection for his people ; and, with a view to promote their best interests, refused many offers of considerable preferment. He was always much grieved when a difference of opinion in lesser matters produced shyness among christians, who agreed in the fundamentals of the gospel. He was always ready to receive a word of reproof from the Lord's people, whether they were his superiors, equals, or inferiors, and would ever shew greater kindness to such faithful reprovers afterwards. He abounded in acts of liberality to the poor, and for many years expended one-tenth of his income in this way. And, indeed, the more he gave away, the more the Lord caused his worldly estates to prosper.

Having for many years been exercised with manifold temptations and infirmities, he became particularly watchful over himself, deeply humble before God, more loathsome in his own eyes, and more tender and compassionate towards others. Towards the close of life, he greatly increased in humility and holiness. His last days were his best days ; and, as his dissolution approached, he bore his racking pains with most exemplary patience. A brother minister having prayed with him, at the close of the exercise he lifted up his eyes and one of his hands towards heaven, and immediately resigned his happy spirit unto

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 552.



God. He lived much beloved, and died much lamented, May 10, 1639, aged fifty-six years. His remains were interred in Banbury church-yard; and over his grave was afterwards raised a large stone monument, with an inscription in Latin and English, part of which was the following:\*

Whatso'ere thoult say who passest by,  
Why? here's enshrin'd celestial dust,  
His bones, whose name and fame can't die,  
'These stones as seoffees weep in trust.  
It's William Whately that here lies,  
Who swam to's tomb in's people's eyes.

Mr. Whately was endowed with a lively spirit, a solid judgment, and a vast memory. He was a hard student, a constant preacher, an excellent orator, and a great scholar, especially in logic, philosophy, and mathematics.† Mr. Leigh observes, "Of all the ministers I ever knew, he possessed the most worthy character. He was blameless, sober, just, holy, temperate, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, a lover of good men, and a workman who needed not to be ashamed."‡ Fuller denominates him "a good linguist, philosopher, mathematician, and divine," and says, "he was free from faction."§ Wood says, "he possessed excellent parts, was a noted disputant, an excellent preacher, a good orator, and well versed in the original text, both Greek and Hebrew; but being a zealous *Calvinist*, a noted *puritan*, and much frequented by the precise party, for his *too frequent* preaching, he laid such a foundation of faction in Banbury, as will not be easily removed."|| "His piety," says Granger, "was of a very extraordinary strain; and his reputation as a preacher so great, that numbers of different persuasions went from Oxford, and other distant places, to hear him. As he ever appeared to speak from his heart, his sermons were felt as well as heard, and were attended with suitable effects."¶

The following anecdote, related of Mr. Whately, at once shews the happy effect of his preaching, and the honourable liberality of his spirit. Having in a sermon warmly recommended his hearers to put in a purse by itself a certain

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 529.

† Life of Mr. Whately.

‡ Epistle prefixed to Whately's "Prototypes."

§ Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 339.

|| Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 528, 529. vol. ii. p. 351.

¶ Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 191.

portion from every pound of the profits of their worldly trades, for works of piety; he observed, that instead of secret grudging when objects of charity were presented, they would look out for them, and rejoice to find them. A neighbouring clergyman hearing him, and being deeply affected with what he so forcibly recommended, went to him after the sermon was ended, and asked what proportion of his income he ought in conscience to give. "As to that," saith he, "I am not to prescribe to others; but I will tell you what hath been my own practice. You know, sir, some years ago I was often beholden to you for the loan of ten pounds at a time. The truth is, I could not bring the year about, though my receipts were not despicable, and I was not at all conscious of any unnecessary expenses. At length I inquired of my family what relief was given to the poor; and not being satisfied, I instantly resolved to lay aside every *tenth* shilling of all my receipts for charitable uses: and the Lord has made me so to thrive since I adopted this method, that now, if you have occasion, I can lend you ten times as much as I have formerly been forced to borrow."\*

Mr. Thomas Whately, ejected in 1662, was his son; and Mr. Richard Morton, another ejected minister, married his daughter.+

His WORKS.—1. Redemption of Time, 1606.—2. A Caveat for the Covetous, 1609.—3. The Bride-Bush; or, the Duties of Married Persons, 1617.—4. Funeral Sermon for Sir Anthony Cope, 1618.—5. The New Birth; or, a Treatise of Regeneration, 1618.—6. God's Husbandry, 1619.—7. A pithy, short, and methodical Way of opening the Ten Commandments, 1622.—8. A Treatise of the Cumbers and Troubles of Marriage, 1624.—9. Sin no More, 1628.—10. The Oyl of Gladness, 1637.—11. The Poor Man's Advocate, 1637.—12. Prototypes, or Examples out of the Book of Genesis, applied to our Instruction and Reformation, 1640.—13. Several Sermons.

JOHN BALL, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Cassenton in Oxfordshire, in the month of October, 1585, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became domestic tutor to the children of Lady Cholmley in Cheshire; about which time he became seriously thoughtful about the salvation of his soul. In the year 1610, having obtained

\* Life of Mr. Mede, p. 37.

+ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part iii. p. 96.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 235, 350.

ordination without subscription, he entered upon the ministerial office, and became minister at Whitmore, near Newcastle, in Staffordshire. Here he resided for many years in the house of Edward Mainwaring, esq. a gentleman highly esteemed for his piety, generosity, and usefulness. Mr. Ball was exceedingly beloved by the ministers in those parts. As he was particularly concerned for the prosperity of Zion, and deeply impressed with the lamentable evils of the times, he frequently united with his brethren in the observance of days of fasting and prayer. For keeping a fast on Ascension-day, they were often convened before the Bishop of Chester, who greatly aggravated their crime, because it was observed on that *holy* day. These troubles, however, did not move Mr. Ball. Amidst all the storms and tempests of the times, he remained firm in the truth. Indeed, previous to his entering into the ministry, he was determined to satisfy his own conscience, and not to receive every thing in the established church, right or wrong; therefore, he impartially examined the controversy betwixt the conformists and nonconformists; and the result of his unbiassed inquiries was, a thorough dissatisfaction with the former, particularly with the subscription tyrannically imposed upon the clergy. During this period he looked upon a *lord bishop* as a very formidable creature; yet he had several contests with the Bishop of Chester, but came off unshaken, and more firmly established in the principles of nonconformity.\*

Lady Bromley, of Sheriff-Hales in Shropshire, was many years famous for promoting, by her influence and practice, the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the genuine principles of the reformation. She was the great patroness of the persecuted nonconformists in that part of the country. Messrs. Ball, Nicolls, Pierson, Herring, and others, when they were harassed and deprived of their ministry, were kindly entertained by this worthy lady. These divines often preached in her neighbourhood, whom she sheltered from the oppressive measures of the prelates, as long as she was able; and when they durst not preach, they kept days of fasting and humiliation at her house.† Though Mr. Ball was often prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts for refusing subscription and keeping conventicles, he was against separation.‡

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 147, 148.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 395. (23.)

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. A, D. 1640.



This divine was thoroughly learned in the controversies of the day, particularly those of Bellarmine, the Arminians, and conformity. He read and studied much upon these points; and it is almost incredible, says Mr. Clark, how he could speak on these topics, and lay open the weakness and fallacy of those arguments by which they were defended, even so as to avoid giving offence. He possessed an admirable talent for explaining difficult texts of scripture, comforting afflicted consciences, and for every duty of the ministerial office. He greatly excelled in prayer, administering the sacraments, and in conducting the exercises of family religion. He possessed an admirable command of his temper, and lived uncommonly abstemious. Though his income did not exceed twenty pounds a year, he was content in his situation, and remarkably liberal to the poor. He used to say, "I have *enough, enough, enough.*" But he was richly ornamented with true christian humility. This was the richest jewel in his crown of moral excellencies. He invariably preferred others above himself, and would never speak reproachfully of any person.

Mr. Ball was uncommonly facetious in conversation. When the nonconformists were in danger of being driven out of the country, he used to say to his brethren, "If we be necessitated to leave our country, you shall preach and I will teach school." To a friend, who was tired of teaching school, and wished to enter into the ministry, he said, "You will find it far more difficult to teach *men* than *boys.*" When told that he was in great danger of being silenced by the bishop, he said, "If he should deal thus with me, I would pull off my hat and thank him." A friend relating his great danger by a fall from his horse, saying he never experienced so great a deliverance before, "Yes," replied Mr. Ball, "a hundred times, even as often as you have ridden and not fallen." He zealously opposed all vanity and frowardness, and possessed an extraordinary talent in calming boisterous passions. To persons under the influence of unruly tempers, he used to say, "Put judgment into office. The affections are bad guides, but good followers. Look well to your hearts. Passion is the effect of pride. You ride an unruly horse, and therefore you stand in need of a strong bit and bridle." When the persecution of the nonconformists was the hottest, to a brother minister he said, "Though all the present race of nonconformists were dead and gone, be assured God would raise others out of our ashes, to protest against episcopacy

and the ceremonies, rather than suffer that cause to perish.”\*

Being at length worn down by hard study and constant preaching, his spirit, during his last affliction, was calm, humble, and peaceable. He continued to preach as long as he was able, and prayed in his family till his strength utterly failed. Being asked whether he thought he should recover, he replied, “I do not trouble myself about it.” He exercised a holy confidence in Christ, and thence derived substantial comfort. When his friends endeavoured to comfort him by the recollection of his extensive usefulness, he said, “If the Lord be not a God pardoning sins, I am in a miserable condition.” And expressing their desires for his recovery, he said, “If the Lord pleased, I should be content to live longer, that I might be further useful, and bear my share of sufferings. For I expect a very sharp combat: the last combat we shall have with antichrist.” As the agonies of death were upon him, being asked how he did, he said, *I am going to heaven*. He died October 20, 1640, aged fifty-five years. “He lived by faith,” says Fuller, “was an excellent schoolman and schoolmaster, a painful preacher, and a profitable writer; and his ‘Treatise of Faith’ cannot be sufficiently commended.”† Wood says, “he lived and died a nonconformist, in a poor house, a poor habit, with a poor maintenance of about twenty pounds a year, and in an obscure village, teaching school all the week for his further support; yet leaving the character of a learned, pious, and eminently useful man:” and we may add, in the words of Mr. Baxter, “he deserved as high esteem and honour as the best bishop in England.”‡

It is observed, that Mr. John Harrison, of Ashton-under-Lyne in Lancashire, was exceedingly harassed by the intolerant proceedings of the bishops, and put to great expenses in the ecclesiastical courts; when he consulted Mr. Ball what he should do to be delivered from these troubles. Mr. Ball recommended him to reward the bishops well with money; “for it is that,” said he, “which they look for.” Mr. Harrison, it is added, tried the experiment, and afterwards enjoyed quietness.§

His WORKS.—1. A short Treatise containing all the principal Grounds of the Christian Religion, 1632.—This work was so much

\* Clark’s Lives, p. 148—152.

† Fuller’s Worthies, part ii. p. 339.

‡ Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 542, 543.

§ Calamy’s Account, vol. ii. p. 396, 397.

admired, that, previous to this year, it passed through *fourteen* editions, and was translated into the Turkish language.—2. A Treatise of Faith, 1637.—3. Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, 1640.—4. An Answer to two Treatises of Mr. John Can. the Leader of the English Brownists at Amsterdam, 1642.—5. Trial of the New Church-way in New England and Old, 1644.—6. A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, 1645.—7. Of the Power of Godliness, doctrinally and practically handled, 1657.\*—This includes several other articles.—8. A Treatise of Divine Meditation, 1660.—Several of the above pieces were published by Mr. Simeon Ashe, after Mr. Ball's death.

THOMAS BREWER was a zealous minister of the baptist persuasion, who suffered the most cruel usage under the ecclesiastical oppressions of Bishop Laud. It does not appear whether he was ever beneficed in the established church. The first account of him we meet with, is, that, in the year 1626, he was a preacher among the separatists in and about Ashford in Kent. In that year, through the instigation of Laud, he was prosecuted and censured in the high commission court, and committed to prison, where he remained no less than *fourteen years*. The archbishop, afterwards speaking of the mischief done by the nonconformity of Mr. Brewer and Mr. Turner, says, "The hurt which they have done is so deeply rooted, that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden; but I must crave time to work it off by little and little." His grace, however, certainly fixed upon the most direct and effectual method of doing this. For, in his account of his province addressed to the king, in the year 1637, he says, "I must give your majesty to understand, that at and about Ashford in Kent, the separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. Two or three of their principal ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have long been kept in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by the statute of abjuration.† Not long since Brewer slipt out of prison, and went to Rochester and other parts of Kent, and held conventicles, and put a great many people into great distempers against the church. He is taken again, and was called before the high commission, where he stood silent, but in such a jeering scornful manner, as I scarcely

\* This work indicates much reflection, an experimental acquaintance with the powers of the soul, and the workings of sin and grace.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 455.

† Upon this part of the archbishop's account, his majesty inserted the following recommendation: "Keep those persons fast, until you think what to do with the rest."—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 546.



ever saw the like. So in prison he remains.”\* This was a short and certain method of stopping their mouths. Mr. Brewer having been confined in prison fourteen years, even till the meeting of the long parliament, he was then set at liberty by an order from the house of commons, November 28, 1640, upon his promise to be forthcoming when called; and this is all we know of him.†

LAWRENCE CHADDERTON, D. D.—This celebrated divine was born at Chadderton in Lancashire, in the year 1537, having descended from a wealthy family. He was brought up in the darkness of popery; and his father, intending him for the law, sent him to the inns of court. But he soon renounced popery; became a religious protestant; forsook the study of the law; and entered Christ’s college, Cambridge. This was in the year 1564. Having turned protestant, and fixed himself in the university, he informed his father of it, requesting some pecuniary support: but his father, being a zealous papist, was so displeased at his becoming a protestant, that he utterly refused to afford him any aid, and disinherited him of considerable estates. Also, as a manifestation of his great resentment, “his father sent him a poke, with a groat in it, to go a begging.” Though he was abandoned by his parents, he found great comfort from these words: “When thy father and mother forsake thee, the Lord will take thee up.”‡ He who called him to suffer reproach and the loss of all things for his name, gave him support and comfort under all his sufferings.

Young Chadderton, now cast off by his unnatural parents, still continued at the university, and made the closest application to his studies. Indeed, he soon became so eminent a scholar, that in three years, he was chosen fellow of his college. In the year 1576, he had a public dispute with Dr. Baro, the Margaret professor, upon his Arminian tenets, when he displayed his great learning, piety, and moderation.§ He afterwards took an active part in the proceedings of the university, against both Baro and Barret, and united with other heads in addressing certain letters to the chancellor of the university.|| For the space of sixteen

\* Wharton’s *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 535, 546.

† Nalson’s *Collec.* vol. i. p. 570.

‡ Fuller’s *Worthies*, part ii. p. 117.

§ Fuller’s *Hist. of Cam.* p. 145, 146.—*Strype’s Annals*, vol. iii. p. 47, 48.

|| Baker’s *MS. Collec.* vol. ii. p. 6, 90.

years, he was lecturer at one of the churches in Cambridge; in which place his holy, learned, and judicious sermons were made a blessing to multitudes. October 26, 1578, he preached the sermon at Paul's cross. This sermon appears to have been the only article he ever published. About the same time, he was appointed, by an order of parliament, to be preacher at the Middle Temple, and to have a salary of twenty pounds a year, to be raised by the contributions of the house.\* In the year 1584, when Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emanuel college, he made choice of Dr. Chadderton to be the first master. But, on account of his great modesty, he was extremely reluctant to undertake the charge; which, when Sir Walter discovered, he said, "If you will not be the *master*, I will not be the *founder* of the college."† Upon this, he complied, and continued in this office thirty-eight years. During the whole of this period, his deportment was agreeable to the expectations of the worthy founder. By his active and laudable endeavours, the funds of the institution were greatly enriched. He paid the most exact attention to the religion and learning of the scholars. Many persons of distinguished eminence were his pupils, among whom was Mr. William Bedell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.‡ This learned prelate always retained the highest opinion of his venerable tutor. After he was made provost of Dublin college, and introduced to a friendly correspondence with the celebrated Usher, he could not make mention of his name without particular sensations of pleasantry and esteem. "The arts of dutiful obedience, and just ruling also in part," says he, "I did seventeen years endeavour to

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1640, p. 4.

† Sir Walter was an avowed enemy to superstition, a zealous promoter of religion, and ever forward to advance a further reformation in the church. Coming to court, after he had founded the above college, the queen addressed him, saying, "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a *puritan foundation*." "No, madam," said he, "far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your laws: but I have set an *acorn*, which, when it becomes an *oak*, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it." This college, it is added, became the very nursery of puritans. Moreover, when Sir Walter founded this college, he, to counteract the influence of superstition, ordered the chapel belonging to it, to stand in the direction of *north* and *south*; but, curious as it may appear, the building in this position, being nonconformable, became an offence to the ruling prelates, and as a punishment for standing thus, it was pulled down in the reign of Charles II. and erected in the position of *east* and *west*.—*Fuller's Hist. of Cam.* p. 147.—*MS. Remarks*, p. 495.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 369.

‡ Biog. Britan, vol. ii. p. 133. Edit. 1778.

learn, under that good father Dr. Chadderton, in a well-tempered society : the cunning tricks of packing, siding, bandying, and skirmishing, with and between great men, I confess myself ignorant in, and am now, I fear, too old to be taught."\* Dr. Chadderton, in the year 1622, resigned his mastership to the famous Dr. Preston, lest he should be succeeded by a person of Arminian principles ; but he survived Preston, and lived to see Dr. Sancroft, and, after him, Dr. Holdsworth, in the same office.

Dr. Chadderton was a decided puritan, but a divine of great moderation. He united with his brethren in their classical associations, and subscribed the " Book of Discipline."† In the year 1603, he was one of the puritan divines nominated by King James to attend the Hampton-court conference. Echard, by mistake, says, that Chadderton and his brethren were chosen by the puritans.‡ It is extremely obvious, that they were all appointed by his majesty. Chadderton, on this occasion, said very little ; only towards the close of the conference, when he perceived the king was determined to carry all by force, he requested upon his knees, that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain pious and faithful ministers in Lancashire, especially the vicar of Rochdale ; but his request was wholly disregarded. The tyrannizing spirit of his majesty, and the contemptible flattery of the prelates, so palpably manifest on this occasion, will be a stain on their character to the latest posterity.§

Dr. Chadderton was a divine of great abilities and learning, on account of which he was appointed by the king to be one of the translators of the Bible : this was the translation of the present authorized version.|| He died November 13, 1640 ; but of his age, as well as the place of his interment, our various authorities are divided. Mr. Clark says he was ninety-four years old ; but Archdeacon Echard, who styles him " a grave, pious, and excellent preacher,"

\* Aikin's *Lives of Selden and Usher*, p. 323.

† Neal's *Puritans*, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Echard's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 186.

§ Bishop Bancroft, falling down on his knee, protested, " That his heart melted with joy, and he made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God, the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been." Archbishop Whitgift and the temporal lords were guilty of the like or worse flattery.—*Barlow's Account*, p. 170—176.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 30.

|| Burnet's *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. Rec. p. 367.



affirms that he died in the hundred and fifth year of his age.\* His remains, says Mr. Clark, were interred in *St. Andrew's* church, Cambridge; when Dr. Holdsworth preached his funeral sermon, giving him large and deserved commendations: but Mr. Baker affirms that he was buried in Emanuel college chapel, and was the first person interred in that place.+ The monumental inscription upon a small grave stone, at the entrance of Emanuel college chapel, will correct these mistakes. It is very short and plain, of which the following is a translation :‡

Here  
lies the body of  
LAWRENCE CHADDERTON, D. D.  
who was the first Master of this College.  
He died in the year 1640,  
in the *one hundred and third*  
year of his age.

He was a divine famous for gravity, religion, and learning, and a plain but useful preacher. He was of a very charitable spirit; a strict observer of the sabbath; and a decided enemy to Arminianism. He could read without the use of spectacles to the day of his death.§ He was married fifty-three years; and during the whole of this period, he never kept his servant from public worship to cook victuals. It is recorded of him to his great honour, that he used to say, "I desire as much to have my servants to know the Lord as myself." If at any time a servant was addicted to lying, or any other open vice, he would not suffer her to remain in his house, though she could do ever so much work.||

This excellent divine, being once on a visit among his friends in Lancashire, was invited to preach; and having preached full *two hours*, he paused and said, "I will no longer trespass upon your patience." Upon this all the congregation cried out, "*For God's sake, go on, go on;*" when he proceeded *much longer* in his discourse, to the great satisfaction and admiration of his audience.¶

\* Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 186.

+ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xviii. p. 72.

‡ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 90.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 146, 147.

|| Ibid.

¶ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 117.

**JOHN RUDD, A. M.**—This divine was born in the year 1568, and educated most probably in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he became a zealous and popular preacher. He was one of the preachers to the university; and for a sermon which he delivered in St. Mary's church, January 30, 1596, he was convened before the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses, and examined upon the contents of his sermon, drawn into certain interrogatories. He was required to give his answer to each of these interrogatories, which he had no sooner done than he was suspended from all his preferment, and commanded to deliver up his license for preaching, until he should give satisfaction to the congregation, and revoke his dangerous errors. It is observed, that he at first consented to retract his opinions, but after the revocation was drawn up, he refused to do it in the manner prescribed; yet he openly promised, and by the subscription of his hand to the said revocation, undertook to deliver publicly in St. Mary's pulpit, on the 6th of March following, the substance of the said revocation, lively, truly, and *bona fide*, so near as he should be able. This, it is said, he was permitted to do, in consequence of his earnest petition, out of a tender regard for his ministry, and in full persuasion of his performance; but, contrary to all expectation, in his sermon on the above day, he confirmed his former points of doctrine, instead of giving satisfaction, or revoking his former offences. For this contempt he continued under suspension, with his license called in, and was obliged to enter into a bond of forty pounds, for his appearance before his spiritual judges, on the 28th day of April.

After these proceedings, Dr. Jegon the vice-chancellor, sent information to Archbishop Whitgift, concerning Mr. Rudd's offence, and communicated to him an account of the above proceedings, with a copy of the above recantation.\* This was going the sure way to work. The stern archbishop immediately addressed letters missive to the vice-chancellor, commanding, that if Mr. Rudd still

\* Dr. John Jegon was afterwards bishop of Norwich, when he distinguished himself by his zeal for conformity, and the exact management of his revenues, by which he was enabled to purchase a very considerable estate, and to enrich his family. This, in the latter part of his life, seems to have been the principal object of his attention. His death happened March 13, 1617; but he was thought to have died too rich for a bishop, and to have expended too little of his ample fortune in acts of charity.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 349.

refused to observe such order as was already taken, or should be hereafter taken, he should be bound, with one surety in a bond of forty pounds, to appear before her majesty's high commissioners, April 30th. He was, therefore, obliged to enter into bonds, and was sent to the high commission, when he made his submission, and confessed his oversight. He was then dismissed, sent back to Cambridge, and referred to the vice-chancellor's wisdom, to take such further order with him as he should think proper. But the vice-chancellor and heads would not release him without a formal recantation, after which he was absolved, and restored in all respects to his former situation. His recantation was as follows :

“Whereas, in a sermon made by me in this place, the 30th day of January last past, I was understood and taken to have published and maintained certain points of doctrine very erroneous, and other speeches of reproof very scandalous to the church of England, and greatly offensive to the congregation then assembled, namely :  
 “ ‘ 1. That the use of humanity, human arts, and profane authors, in sermons, was and is altogether unprofitable and unlawful.—2. That not the tenth part of the ministers of this our church of England are able ministers or preachers, but dumb dogs.—3. That a curate, being no preacher, is no minister, nor doth he edify, any more than a boy of eight years old may do.—4. That Papists and Lutherans in Cambridge are lately reconciled and dismissed ; for which the university doth hear ill abroad.’  
 “In all which particulars, my mind and meaning was and is so far different from the sense implied in these words, that I had no suspicion of any offence thereby given or taken.”\*

It does not appear whether Mr. Rudd made the above revocation publicly in the pulpit, or only subscribed it with his hand. Upon his release from these troubles, it appears that he left the university ; and about the same time he became minister of Sheephall in Hertfordshire, where he continued a faithful and useful preacher to the end of his days. At his death his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church, and over his grave the following plain monumental inscription was erected to his memory :

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 188, 189.



Here lies the body  
of JOHN RUDD,  
the faithful pastor of this church  
forty-five years,  
who died a bachelor in 1640,  
aged 72.

In his last will and testament he bequeathed £300 for the purchase of lands, the profits of which were to be annually distributed among the poor of Durham; also £200 for two scholarships in Christ's college, Cambridge, one for the north and the other for the south. His own kindred in the south, if any, were first to be chosen; next the vicar's son of Sheephall, if capable; next, such scholars as were educated at Stevenage school; if none there, then at St. Alban's or Hertford school. He also gave £200 for the purchase of lands, the profits of which were to be annually devoted to other charitable purposes.\*

**WILLIAM FENNER, B. D.**—This excellent puritan was born in the year 1600, and educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; but took his degree in divinity at Oxford. He entered upon his stated ministerial exercise at Sedgley in Staffordshire, where the Lord greatly blessed his labours. The parish is very large and populous; and, previous to his settlement, was a very heathenish place; but by his holy life and faithful preaching, during the period of four years, many persons were turned to righteousness. Being at length forced away, most probably on account of his nonconformity; and being succeeded by a weak vicar, ignorance and profaneness again returned.+

Mr. Fenner naturally cared for souls; therefore, besides paying the necessary attention to the people of his own particular charge, he took much delight in preaching the gospel from place to place. He was much resorted to as a casuist,† and highly esteemed and admired by some of the nobility, particularly the Earl of Warwick, who became his great friend and patron. In the year 1629, he presented him to the rectory of Rochford in Essex.§ In this situation he continued the rest of his days, and his life and labours reflected much honour on the grace of God. He

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xvii. p. 106.

† Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 777.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 182.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 497.

did not entertain his hearers with dry disputes about unprofitable rites and ceremonies, but fed them with the sincere milk of the word.\* The Oxford historian says, "he was much admired and followed by the puritanical party." One Mr. Fenner, a puritan minister, was apprehended by Archbishop Laud, and cast into prison, where he remained many years; but he does not appear to be the same person.† Mr. Fenner died about 1640, aged forty years. Mr. Edmund Calamy, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his successor.‡ The writings of this pious divine discover much acquaintance with religion in all its parts; and his manner is plain, zealous, and alarming.§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Riches of Grace*, 1641.—2. *A Treatise of Affections*, 1642.—3. *Christ's Alarm to Drowsy Sinners*, 1650.—4. *Practical Divinity*, 1650.—5. *Divine Message to the Elect Soul*, 1651.—6. *Of wilful Impenitency*, 1651.—7. *Of Conscience*, 1651.—8. *Hidden Manna*, 1652.—And some others.

**SAMUEL WARD, B. D.**—This excellent divine, the son of Mr. John Ward, the old puritan, was born at Haverhil in Suffolk, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. Having finished his studies at the university, he became lecturer at Haverhil, where his labours were eminently useful. Among the first fruits of his ministry was the celebrated Mr. Samuel Fairclough.|| Mr. Ward afterwards became minister to one of the churches

\* Fenner's Works, Pref. Edit. 1651.

† Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 538, 546.

‡ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 76.

§ Williams's *Christian Preacher*, p. 454.

|| The following account is given of Mr. Fairclough's conversion. Mr. Ward having preached on the conversion of Zaccheus, he observed, "That no one who has wronged another can expect pardon from God who does not make restitution, if it be in his power." This was like a dart directed by the hand of God to the heart of young Fairclough, who with one John Trigg (afterwards an eminent physician in London) had the preceding week robbed the orchard of one Goodman Jude. The sermon drew forth many tears, and he could get no sleep during that night. Early the next morning he went to his companion Trigg, and told him that he was going to Jude's to give him a shilling for the pears he had stolen. Trigg, fearing the old man would acquaint the schoolmaster, and they should be beaten, strove to dissuade Fairclough from his purpose, who answered, that God would not pardon the sin without restitution. Trigg replied, "You talk like a fool, Sam: God will forgive us ten times sooner than old Jude will once." But Samuel persisted in his design, when Jude refused to take the money, and readily forgave him the wrong. But he could find no rest till he went to Mr. Ward and opened to him the state of his soul.—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. part i. p. 154.

of Ipswich in Suffolk; but his reputation was so great, that he had the superintendence of the several parishes in that populous town, and was greatly beloved by the numerous parishioners.\* However, he had his foes, as well as his friends, and was prosecuted by Bishop Harsnet for non-conformity. In the year 1622, upon his prosecution in the consistory of Norwich, he appealed from the bishop to the king; who committed the articles exhibited against him to the examination of the lord keeper Williams. The lord keeper, announcing the result of his examination to his majesty, is said to have found Mr. Ward not altogether blameless, but a man easily to be won by fair dealing; and persuaded Harsnet to take his submission, and not remove him from Ipswich. The truth is, the lord keeper found that Mr. Ward possessed so much candour, and was so ready to promote the interests of the church, that he could do no less than compound the troubles of so learned and industrious a divine.† He was, therefore, released from the prosecution; and most probably continued for some time without molestation, in the peaceable exercise of his ministry. But this was not the end of his troubles. He afterwards fell into the hands of Archbishop Laud, whose tender mercies were cruelty. In the year 1634, for certain words delivered in his sermons, he was prosecuted in the high commission court. And the year following, for preaching against bowing at the name of Jesus, and against the Book of Sports, and having said, “that the church of England was ready to ring changes in religion, and that the gospel stood on tiptoe ready to be gone;” he was suspended in the high commission, enjoined a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and condemned in costs of suit. Upon his refusal to reproach his understanding, and defile his conscience by a public recantation, he was committed to prison, where, to his great disgrace and unspeakable loss, he remained a long time. Laud was the principal person in procuring this cruel sentence.‡

Mr. Ward, having endured the severity of imprisonment for some time, and having at length obtained his release, fled from the storm, and retired to Holland; where he first

\* Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 70, 71.

† Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 95. Edit. 1693.

‡ It is observed, that, upon the censure of Mr. Ward, the Bishop of Norwich would have allowed his people another minister; but they would have Mr. Ward, or none.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 301.—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 541.



became a member of Mr. Bridge's church at Rotterdam, then his colleague in the pastoral office. The two pastors are said, indeed, to have been perfectly conformable to the church of England, when they left their native country; which is contrary to truth and the plainest matter of fact. Also, upon their going to Holland, they are said to have renounced their episcopal ordination, and to have been re-ordained; when Mr. Bridge ordained Mr. Ward, and Mr. Ward returned him the compliment. This account, however, appears extremely doubtful.\* After Mr. Ward had been employed for some time as pastor of the church, he was deposed from his office, though manifestly on very trivial grounds. Having been laid aside a considerable time, he was restored to his former charge, on which occasion the church acknowledged the wrong they had done him. Indeed, his deposition was matter of surprise to many, who had the highest opinion of Mr. Ward's integrity and worth. The only crime with which he appears to have been charged, was, his uniting with Mr. Sympson in endeavours, though in the most peaceable manner, to revive the religious exercises or prophesyings; that, for the better edification of the people, they might, after sermons, propose their doubts to the ministers, and ask them questions.+ It was doubtless an honour to the church to restore so valuable a pastor, and to acknowledge the injustice of its own censure.

Mr. Ward does not appear to have long survived these painful trials, but died in Holland, most probably about the year 1640. Fuller denominates him "an excellent artist, linguist, preacher, and divine," and includes him in the list of learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge.‡ He was one of the learned divines who wrote against Montague, the famous promoter of popery and arminianism. He was author of a work, entitled, "*Magnetis Reductorium Theologicum*." And about the time of his departure for Holland, several of his pieces were collected and published in one thick duodecimo volume, entitled, "*A Collection of such Sermons and Treatises as have been written and published by Samuel Ward, B. D. and Preacher of Ipswich*," 1636. Dr. Doddridge observes, that his writings are "worthy to be read through. His language is generally proper, elegant, and nervous. His thoughts are well digested and happily illustrated. He

\* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 75, 82.

† Edwards's Antapologia, p. 143, 149 — Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 77.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 70.—Hist. of Cambridge, p. 154.

has many remarkable veins of wit. Many of the boldest figures of speech are to be found in him beyond any English writer; especially apostrophes, prosopopæias, dialogisms, and allegories. There is, indeed, a mixture of fancy in his writings; but pardonable, considering his youth, and that many of his sermons were not prepared by himself for the press, but copied from his mouth while preaching. He died before he was twenty-eight years old.\* Had he lived, he would probably have been the phoenix of British preachers.”†

HENRY ARCHER was minister of Alhallows, Lombard-street, London; but, on account of his nonconformity, was suspended, and driven out of the kingdom by the cruel persecution of Archbishop Laud.‡ He retired to Arnheim in Holland, and there became pastor of the English church, having Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin for his colleague in the pastoral office. He had, in his own country, been exercised with very much bodily affliction; but his removal proved the means of his complete restoration to health.§ In this situation he appears to have continued the rest of his days, and died most probably soon after the year 1640. He was an independent in his views of christian discipline and church government. He was also a millenarian in sentiment. He expected Christ's appearance in those days, and wrote of his personal reign upon the earth in a work, entitled, “The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth. In a Treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved, that Jesus Christ, together with his Saints, shall visibly possess a monarchicall State and Kingdom in the World,” 1642. In this work he said, “Christ will govern universally over the world in these days, known and esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensuality, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever is not sinful, all nations and kingdoms doing homage to him, as the great monarch of the world.”|| He is charged with having held several

\* In this the doctor is certainly very much mistaken; for Mr. Ward was lecturer at Haverhill in the year 1607; and therefore must have been a preacher at least thirty years previous to his departure for Holland.—*Clark's Lives*, part i. p. 153, 154.

† Doddridge's Works, vol. v. p. 429, 430. Edit. 1804.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

§ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 160.

|| Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 87.

antinomian sentiments; and certainly his saying, "that God is the author of sin, even of the pravity and sinfulness of it," was extremely erroneous. Besides writing upon the personal reign of Christ, he published a work, entitled, "A Treatise of the Comfort of Believers against their Sins and Sorrows;" which, for containing the above sentiment, was censured by the assembly of divines, and ordered by the house of lords to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. He was, nevertheless, esteemed a man of the most exemplary piety.\* There was one Mr. Archer, an independent minister at Halstead in Essex, who, according to Edwards, preached much against the presbyterians, and against paying tithes; but it appears very doubtful whether this was the same person.†

SAMUEL HOWE was pastor of the separate congregation meeting in Deadman's-place, London, and successor to the famous Mr. John Canne. This church appears to have held mixt communion, and Mr. Howe was a baptist, though some of his predecessors were not. Mr. Neal says that he was a man of learning, and published a small treatise, entitled, "The Sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching."‡ His learning, however, does not appear from this work, which is designed to shew the insufficiency of human learning to the important purposes of religion; and not only so, but that it is dangerous and hurtful. It is certainly written with great strength of genius, though the author was a "cobbler," as appears from the following recommendatory lines prefixed to the discourse:§

"What *How*? how now? Hath *How* such learning found,  
To throw Art's curious image to the ground?  
Cambridge and Oxford may their glory now  
Veil to a cobbler, if they know but *How*."

Mr. Howe and his people were persecuted beyond measure by the ruling prelates. He continued pastor of the church about seven years; but not being sufficiently on his guard in conversation, subjected himself to the malice of hungry informers. by whose means he was cited into the ecclesiastical courts, and excommunicated. Upon this

\* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 79, 80.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part ii. p. 18. Third edit.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 375.

§ Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 39, 40.



terrible sentence he absconded; but after some time he was apprehended, and shut up in close prison, where he died. His death happening while under the above disgraceful sentence, he was denied christian burial, and a constable's guard secured the parish church of Shoreditch to prevent his interment there. At length his remains were deposited in Agnes-la-clair.\* This was most probably about the year 1640. In a work published against the separatists, entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue," 1641, it is said, "Of these opinions was Howe, that notorious predicant cobbler, whose body was buried in the highway, and his funeral sermon preached by one of his sect in a brewer's cart."† Hence it appears that his funeral was publicly conducted, notwithstanding the violence of the time; and that his people took this method of pouring contempt upon the impotent rage of his persecutors, whose sentiments concerning christian burial, and consecrated ground, they utterly despised: and to prove that what they did was from principle, and not merely from necessity, many of the members of his church afterwards, by their own desire, were buried in the same place.‡

The celebrated Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence in New England, gives the following honourable testimony to the character of Mr. Howe. "Amongst so many instances," says he, "dead and living, to the everlasting praise of Jesus Christ, and of his Holy Spirit, breathing and blessing where he listeth, I cannot but with honourable testimony remember that eminent christian witness, and prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel Howe; who being by calling a cobbler, and without human learning, (which yet in its sphere and place he honoured,) who yet, I say, by searching the holy scriptures, grew so excellent a textuary, or scripture-learned man, that few of those high rabbies, who scorn to mend or make a shoe, could aptly or readily, from the holy scriptures, out-go him: and however he was forced to seek a grave or bed in the highway, yet was his life, and death, and burial, honourable and glorious, being attended by many hundreds of God's people; but how much more will be his rising again!"§ Mr. Howe was succeeded in the pastoral office by Mr. Stephen More, whose memoir is given in the next article.

\* Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 154.

† Brownist's Synagogue, p. 2.

‡ Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 153.

§ Williams's Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, p. 11, 12. Edit. 1652.

STEPHEN MORE was a person of good reputation, and endowed with considerable ministerial abilities. He was for some years deacon to the congregation of separatists in London, and a citizen of considerable property; but, after the death of Mr. Samuel Howe, whose memoir is given in the preceding article, he was chosen to the pastoral office, to the apparent hazard of his liberty and estate.\* This congregation practised mixed communion, and his predecessor was a baptist, but Mr. More was an independent. The zeal of these people exposed them to the severe persecution of the prelates; and they were obliged to assemble in private as they found an opportunity. This poor congregation had subsisted almost by a miracle for upwards of twenty-four years, shifting from place to place, to avoid the notice of hungry informers; but January 18, 1641, they ventured to set open their doors in Deadman's-place, Southwark. Fuller says, that on "this day happened the first fruits of anabaptistical insolence, when eighty of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of the Common Prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate; and that he was only to be obeyed in *civil* matters. Being brought before the lords, they confessed the articles; but no penalty was inflicted upon them."†

This, however, is a very partial and imperfect account of the matter, as appeared from their own records. As it is probable that only a small part of them were of the baptist persuasion, they were more properly a congregation of independents than anabaptists. With respect to their *insolence*, if, by opening their doors for all to come to their assembly who might feel disposed, they discovered their insolence, they must bear their own reproach. But if it refer to the opinions they delivered, what immediately followed will afford the best explanation. This is, therefore, an impartial statement of facts. Mr. More and his congregation having assembled in Deadman's-place, for the purpose of public worship on the Lord's day, though not with their former secrecy, they were discovered and taken into custody by Sir John Lenthall, marshal to the King's-bench, who committed most of them to the Clink. Next morning, six or seven of the men were carried before the house of lords, and charged with denying the king's supremacy in *ecclesiastical*

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 40.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 172.

matters, and with preaching in separate congregations, where the Common Prayer was not used, contrary to the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth. The latter charge they confessed; and as to the former, they declared to the house, "That they could acknowledge no other head of the church besides Jesus Christ; that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction."\* Such a bold declaration, a twelvemonth before, would have sent them to a close, filthy prison, or cost them their ears.

The house, however, instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical courts, or inflicting any penalty upon them, treated them with great civility and respect, and some of the lords inquired where was their place of meeting, intimating that they would come and hear them. Accordingly, three or four of the peers went to the meeting the next Lord's day, to the great wonder of many. The good people, not intimidated with their presence, conducted their worship in their usual method: having two sermons, in each of which the preacher discussed those principles for which they had been accused, founding his discourses on the words of our Saviour: *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* In the conclusion the Lord's supper was administered, and a collection made for the poor, in which the lords contributed liberally with them. Upon their departure, they signified their satisfaction in what they had heard and seen, and their inclination to come again. But this made so great a noise, it is said, that they durst not venture a second time.†

It does not appear how long Mr. More continued pastor of this church, nor how long he lived after the above troubles; but the church divided by mutual consent, most probably at his death, when just one half chose Mr. Praise-God Barebone, and the other half Mr. Henry Jessey, to the office of pastor.‡

**RICHARD BERNARD.**—This excellent divine was born in the year in 1567, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. He was a young man of good natural parts; and, having raised the expectations of his friends, the Countess of Warwick took him under her patronage, and sent him

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 375, 376.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 163.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 41.



to the university. He had other liberal friends also, who assisted and encouraged him in his preparatory studies. Having finished his academical pursuits at Cambridge, he became vicar of Worksop in Nottinghamshire, where he experienced great encouragement in his ministry, and was exceedingly beloved by his people. As a preacher, he was much followed, and his labours were rendered a blessing to many. From the date of some of his writings, it appears that he was at Worksop in the year 1605; but how long he had been in this situation, previous to that period, we are not able to ascertain:

About the year 1613, Mr. Bernard, on account of his excellent learning, genuine piety, and ministerial abilities, was presented to the living of Batcombe in Somersetshire. He received the presentation from Dr. Bisse, who had been minister of the place almost from the commencement of the reformation. This reverend and venerable pastor, it is said, purchased the advowson of Batcombe to present once only, for which he gave £200; and though he had a son in the ministry, he constantly resolved to bestow it as the Lord should direct him. Therefore, upon the presentation of the benefice, he spake to Mr. Bernard and others in these words: "I do this day lay aside nature, respect of profit, flesh and blood, in thus bestowing, as I do, my living, only in hope of profiting and edifying my people's souls;" after which he did not live above three weeks. This, his last act, he called his *packing-penny* between God and himself.

In this situation, as well as the former, Mr. Bernard laboured more abundantly than many of his brethren, and his endeavours were rendered extensively useful. He was opposed to a total separation from the church, and wrote with some zeal against the Brownists; but was an enemy to the imposition of human ceremonies in divine worship, and wrote against them as unlawful. He was indeed called a conformable puritan, though he refused to observe many of the ceremonies, and the exact conformity required of the clergy. It is supposed that he obtained some connivance and indulgence from the Bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, who had been one of his familiar associates at the university: and on this account he escaped those suspensions and deprivations under which many of his brethren frequently groaned. He was a hard student, a most exemplary christian, and much addicted to acts of charity; also a judicious, affectionate, and profitable preacher, being filled with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of

souls.\* He died in the month of March, 1641, aged seventy-four years.+ Fuller has given him a place among the learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge;‡ and Granger denominates him "the worthy rector of Batcombe in Somersetshire."§

Mr. Conant gives the following account of Mr. Bernard's character, labours, and usefulness: "I had for sundry years past, some intimate acquaintance with him; during which time, as, by the testimony of many godly and learned persons long before, he hath constantly been very laborious in the public exercise of his ministry; the fruit whereof was sealed by the conversion of many souls to God. His labours in the ministry were bestowed not only in his own congregation, but in several of the adjacent market towns; where weekly lectures were for many years continued, by the free and voluntary assistance of pious, godly, and orthodox divines, until they were, by the last bishop of that diocese, to the great prejudice of many souls, imperiously suppressed. In his ministerial work he was a *leader* and *pattern* to many, exemplifying in his sermons that method of *preaching*, which many years since, in his "Faithful Shepherd," he prescribed, or at least proposed, in *writing*. Divers painful and profitable labourers in the Lord's vineyard had their first initiation and direction from and under him; to whom also many others had recourse, and from whom they borrowed no small light and encouragement. His people, by his constant pains in *catechizing*, (wherein he had an excellent facility,) as well as his *preaching*, were more than ordinary proficient in the knowledge of the things of God; and the *youth* of his congregation were very ready in giving a clear account of their faith, whereof he would often speak with much rejoicing. That the knowledge of his people was not merely speculative, appeared by the many liberal contributions which, for pious and charitable uses, were made by them; wherein, I suppose, they were not inferior to any congregation in the whole county wherein he lived. "His preaching and catechizing," our author adds, "were accompanied with zeal, frequency, and fervency in prayer, wherein he was very ready and powerful, and whereby all his other labours became the more successful. With all these, his ordinary and more private conversation

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1640. p. 42.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 514.

‡ Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 189.

held a good correspondence; he being bold, expert, and candid in admonishing or reproof, as occasion presented; tender also and cordial in comforting the afflicted or wounded spirit; and, in a word, he shewed much integrity in all his actions. He was, in his private studies, according to that strong constitution wherewith God had blessed him, indefatigable: the benefit whereof the church of God enjoyeth, in those many tractates written and printed by him; as most men versed in theological studies will give testimony.\* He was a learned divine and a zealous pastor, of which his numerous writings afford ample proof. They also discover great precision of thought, and much strength and energy of mind. It is added, that the same uncommon ardour which is discovered throughout his writings, was, during a long and laborious ministry, manifested with extensive effects in his immediate and extra-parochial engagements.† Mr. Bernard had for his assistants at Batcombe, Mr. Robert Balsom the puritan, then Mr. Edward Bennet; and for his successor, Mr. Richard Allein; both ejected in 1662.‡

His WORKS.—1. Dissuasions from the Way of Separation, 1605.—2. Twelve Arguments proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers in the Church of England, by the Prelates, are unlawful, and therefore that the Ministers of the Gospel, for the bare and sole Omission of them for Conscience sake, are most unjustly charged with Disloyalty to her Majesty, 1605.—3. A Key for the Opening of the Mysteries of the Revelation of St. John, 1617.—4. Fabulous Foundation of the Popedom, shewing that St. Peter was never at Rome, 1619.—5. The Good Man's Grace, or his Stay in all his Distress, 1621.—6. The Faithful Shepherd and his Practice, 1621.—7. The Seven Golden Candlesticks, or the Sevenfold State of God's Church here on Earth, 1621.—8. An Answer to that Question, 'Where was your Religion before Luther?' 1624.—9. Rhemes against Rome, 1626.—10. A Guide to Grand Jurymen in Cases of Witchcraft, 1627.—11. Bible Battles, 1629.—12. Of the Nature and Differences of Conscience, 1631.—13. The Isle of Man; or, the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin, 1632.§—14. The Ready Way to good Works; or, a Treatise of Charity, 1635.—15. A Three fold Treatise of the Sabbath, on Gen. ii. 3., 1641.—16. A short View of the Prelatical Church of England, 1641.—17. The Bible's Abstract and Epitome, 1642.—18. Thesaurus Biblicus seu promptuarium sacrum, 1644. The last of these articles was republished, with enlargements, in 1661, and discovers the author's great learning and uncommon labour.

\* Bernard's Isle of Man, p. 12—15. Edit. 1803. + Ibid. p. 10.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 139. iii. p. 167.

§ This was the eighth edition of this excellent, though somewhat quaint little work, written in the form of an allegory. It was republished in 1803.



**JONATHAN BURR.**—This truly pious divine was born at Redgrave in Suffolk, in the year 1604, and educated at one of our universities. He was the son of pious parents, and, from a child, was trained up in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation. While a boy at school, he lived in the fear of God, and in the constant exercises of private devotion. Having spent four years at the university, he was unexpectedly called away by the death of his pious father. This painful dispensation was, however, sanctified to his good. He used afterwards to admire the wisdom and goodness of God, in preserving him by this means from those alluring preferments, for which he had a particular fondness. His first ministerial exercises were at Horningsheath in Suffolk, then at Rickingshal in the same county. In the latter situation, he had the pastoral charge, was presented to the rectory, and, with great exactness, performed his numerous pastoral duties. On this occasion he entered into a solemn covenant with God. Though what he delivered to the people in public, he previously applied to himself in private, he sometimes complained, saying, “Alas! I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be.” Indeed, he was so deeply sensible of his own unworthiness, and of the numerous imperfections attending his best performances, that he often laboured under painful despondency. He was constant and laborious in the work of the Lord; and when desired to spare himself, he used to say, “It is better to wear out with *work*, than be eaten out with *rust*.” It was his highest joy to spend his life for the honour of God and the welfare of souls. When he found, at any time, that the Lord had been pleased to bless his labours, he would say, “Lord, I have given of thine own; take thou the glory to thyself. As for me, let me have my portion in thyself, and not in the things of this world.” He was remarkably charitable to the poor; and when requested to be more sparing in his liberality, he replied, “I often think on those words, *He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly*.” He was of a meek and lowly spirit, and so patient under injuries, that when he was told how meanly other persons thought of him, he used to say, “I think as meanly of myself, and, therefore, am content for them to think thus of me.” And when he was charged with evil, he meekly replied, “If men see so much evil, how much does God see?” He was always sorry to hear himself applauded, and called his reproaches his *gains*.

All his excellent endowments could not screen him from the severities of the times. He felt the iron hand of Bishop Laud, when, on account of his conscientious nonconformity, he was suspended from his beloved work. His mouth being stopped, he was like the fish out of water. His body even languished under the painful cross, and he said, "My preaching is my life. If I be laid aside from that, I shall quickly die."\* Mr. Burr, finding himself totally disabled from preaching in his native country, without a conformity to the ecclesiastical impositions, contrary to the convictions of his conscience, renounced all prospects of worldly advantage, and retired to New England; where he could enjoy the ordinances of the gospel without the inventions and impositions of men. On his arrival in the new colony, he was chosen assistant to Mr. Richard Mather, pastor of the church at Dorchester. The year following, he was taken ill of the small-pox; but, through divine goodness, he recovered, and came forth as gold tried in the fire. On this occasion, he renewed his devotedness to God, and entered into a covenant with the Lord, to walk before him with greater exactness in future. In this covenant he expressed himself in the following manner:

"I, Jonathan Burr, being brought in the arms of Almighty God over the vast ocean, with my family and friends, and graciously provided for in a wilderness; and being sensible of my own unworthiness and self-seeking; yet of infinite mercy, being called to the tremendous work of feeding souls; and being of late with my family, delivered out of a great affliction of the small-pox: and found the fruit of that affliction, God tempering, ordering, and mitigating the evil thereof; so that I have been graciously and speedily delivered; I do promise and vow to Him, who hath done all these things for me:—1. That I will aim only at his glory and the good of souls, and not my own glory.—2. That I will walk humbly, with lower thoughts of myself, considering that I am a puff of breath sustained by the power of his grace alone.—3. That I will be more watchful over my heart, to keep it in a due frame of holy obedience, without running out so far after the creature: for I have seen that he is my only help in time of need.—4. That I will put more weight in that firm promise, and sure truth, that he is a God hearing prayer.—5. That I will set up God more in

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 78—80.

“ my family, more in myself, wife, children, and servants,  
 “ conversing with them in a more serious manner. For this  
 “ God aimed at by sending this affliction into my family.  
 “ I will remember death. In myself I am nothing, in  
 “ Christ all things.”\*

The future deportment of this worthy servant of Christ was happily conformable to his holy resolutions. His public ministry and his whole behaviour in life savoured much of a spirit of holiness, and afforded unspeakable comfort to the flock of Christ. He was greatly admired among his brethren. Having preached to a crowded congregation at Charlestown, the celebrated Mr. Thomas Hooker was led to say, “ Surely, this man will not be long out of heaven. He preaches as if he were there already.”

Mr. Burr, immediately after his last sermon, preached on *redeeming the time*, was seized by an affliction of about ten days continuance. During this period, he discovered the most becoming patience and submission to the will of God. His wife, perceiving his willingness to die, inquired whether he wished to leave her and their children; to which he readily answered, “ Do not mistake me,” said he, “ I am not desirous of that. But, I bless God, that now my will is the Lord’s will. If he will have me yet to live with my dear wife and children, I am willing. It is better for you that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.” His affectionate wife intimating how hard a thing it was to be separated, he exhorted her to acquiesce in the will of God: and added, “ Our parting is but for a time. I am sure we shall one day meet again.” Observing her very kind attention in waiting on him, he said, “ Do not spend so much time with me; but go thy way, and spend some time in prayer. Thou knowest not what thou mayest obtain of God. I fear lest thou look too much upon this affliction.” The night preceding his death, he said, “ I will wait until my change come. Why art thou loath to die?” A few hours previous to his departure, he had a sore conflict with the enemy; and his friends reminding him that this was one of Satan’s last assaults, that he was a subtle enemy, and would, if it were possible, deceive the very elect, he immediately said, “ If it were *possible*; but, blessed be God, it is not possible.” Before he departed, he most affectionately addressed his wife, saying, “ Cast thy care upon God; for he careth for

\* Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 78—80.



thee:" then added, "Hold fast, hold fast," and closed his eyes in peace, August 9, 1641, aged thirty-seven years.\*

**JOHN EATON, A. M.**—This person was born in Kent, in the year 1575, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford. For several years after he left the university, he preached in various places; was curate at Katherine-Colemar, near Aldgate, London; and in 1625, became vicar of Wickham-Market in Suffolk, where he continued to the end of his days. It is said that he was a person of a peculiar mould, very paradoxical in his opinions, and a great antinomian, for which he was more than once cast into prison. His writings, which contain his peculiar sentiments, were, "The Discovery of a most dangerous Dead Faith;" 1641. "Abraham's Steps of Faith;" 1641. "The Honey-comb of Free Justification by Christ alone, collected out of the mere Authorities of Scripture," 1642. For the publication of a former edition of the last article, he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, Westminster.† Indeed, he was for several years questioned and censured by the high commission, for maintaining that God cannot see sin in those who are justified. He was in perils often, in London, Norwich, and Wickham. Nevertheless, he is represented as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ; and, by the blessing of the Lord upon his labours, was instrumental in begetting many children to God.‡ Archdeacon Echard admits, that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience, and his great piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and highly valued for many years after his death.§ And though he committed some mistakes, in his assertions about the doctrines of grace, he was, upon the whole, "a pattern of faith, holiness, and cheerfulness in his sufferings, to future generations." He died in the year 1641, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age. There was another Mr. Eaton, denominated the *great apostle* for promoting independency in Yorkshire and Lancashire; but he was ejected after the restoration.¶

\* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 81.

† Paget's Heresiography, p. 92.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 379.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 278.

¶ Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 68, 164.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 36!.

JOHN HOWE was a man of great piety, and an excellent divine, but greatly troubled on account of his nonconformity. When he was first induced to examine the grounds of conformity, he espoused the cause of the puritans, and continued with firmness to adhere to their sentiments. By the favour of Archbishop Laud, he became minister of Loughborough in Leicestershire; and because he could not in conscience observe all the superstitious ceremonies enjoined by this arbitrary prelate, he was thought unfit to continue his ministerial labours in so populous a town. Laud therefore suspended him from his ministry.\* But the chief cause of his suspension and other troubles, was, his praying only once in the pulpit, that God would preserve the young prince from the infection of popery. The queen, the prince's mother, who was a notorious papist, had numerous popish priests about her, using their utmost endeavours to have the mind of the prince established in the popish opinions; and, indeed, one of the articles of the queen's marriage was, that all her children should be nursed and brought up near the queen, until they should arrive at the age of fourteen years. There was, therefore, great cause of fear. Mr. Howe, for offering up the above prayer, was condemned in the high commission court, November 6, 1634, to be committed to prison during his majesty's pleasure, suspended from every part of his ministry, fined five hundred pounds, required to make a public recantation before the court, and condemned in costs of suit.† Such was the terrible sentence inflicted upon this excellent servant of Christ for the above imaginary crime! Laud says, that "Mr. Howe's prayer expressed in these words, 'That God would preserve the prince in the true religion, of which there was cause to fear,' was so grievous and graceless a scandal cast upon a religious king, as nothing could be greater. It was the shew of a prayer for the prince," says he, "but was, indeed, intended to destroy the king in the hearts of the people. And," he adds, "if I had not there consented to his punishment, I had deserved to be punished myself."‡

How long this divine continued in prison, or by what means he was released from these troubles, we have not been able to learn. On account of these cruel oppressions, great numbers, both ministers and others, were driven to Holland,

\* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 5. Edit. 1724.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 420.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 383.

America, and other places; so Mr. Howe, to avoid persecution in future, sought an asylum in Ireland. He continued in that country till the breaking out of the rebellion, about the year 1641, when many thousands of protestants lost their lives. Indeed, Mr. Howe himself, and his family, were exposed to the greatest danger. The place to which they retired was for several weeks besieged and assaulted by the rebels, though without success; and by the special providence of God, which was the guard of his life, he was mercifully delivered from all his troubles. After being exposed for several years to the calamities of war, he returned to his native country, and settled in Lancashire; but at what place, or when he died, we are not able to learn.\* The celebrated Mr. John Howe, silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, was his son.†

MR. WROTH.—This excellent person was educated in the university of Oxford, afterwards rector of Llanfaches in Monmouthshire, and domestic chaplain to Lady B——. He is accounted the first nonconformist minister in Wales. About the year 1620, he began to signalize himself by faithfully preaching the gospel, and discovered uncommon concern for the salvation of souls.‡ Previous to this he was a clergyman much addicted to mirth, levity, and music. An old manuscript relates the following anecdote: A gentleman in the neighbourhood having a suit at law depending, of great importance to his family, went to London to attend the trial; which, to his great satisfaction, proved in his favour. Sending home the pleasing information, his family and friends were overcome with transports of joy. The gentleman, therefore, appointed a certain day when he would return, and ordered great preparations to be made for his arrival, when the evening should be spent in feasting and mirth. Mr. Wroth, being invited, brought a new violin, to bear his part in the general triumph. But while they were in full expectation of the gentleman's arrival, behold! to their unspeakable mortification and distress, news came that he had been seized by death upon the road. It is not easy even to conceive what impressions were made on the minds of all present. The transition from triumphant joy to the deepest sorrow and anguish, was almost indescrib-

\* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 5, 6.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 81.

‡ Cradock's Works, Pref. Edit. 1800.



able. Amidst the general consternation, Mr. Wroth cast away his violin, and falling on his knees in the midst of the company, most fervently prayed for the blessing of God upon this alarming providence. It is further added, that from this time he became a changed man, of which he gave full proof by his faithful ministry and exemplary life.\*

Mr. Wroth no sooner felt the power of divine grace, than he discovered uncommon concern for the souls of his people. He presently became a laborious and faithful preacher, and his labours were not in vain. He was instrumental in the conversion of many souls; among whom was Mr. Walter Cradock, who became his excellent fellow-labourer in the vineyard of Christ. His way of preaching, however, soon roused the malice of his enemies, and rendered him obnoxious to his superiors. It is recorded, that "the pious Mr. Wroth, with a great many devout and conscientious divines, severely felt the persecutions of the times, and were suspended from their livings for not reading the cursed Book of Sports on the Lord's day."† In the year 1635 the Bishop of Llandaff preferred articles against him in the high commission court, threatening to punish him according to his deserts. His lordship calls him "a noted schismatic," and says that he led many simple people after him, and wilfully persisted in his schismatical course. The year following, the bishop complained of the slowness of the prosecution, and observed that this made him "persist in his by-ways, and his followers judge him faultless." And in 1638 the good man was forced to submit, though it is not said what kind of submission he made.‡

In the year 1639 Mr. Wroth, with the assistance of Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. Henry Jessey, and some others, formed a church at Llanfaches, according to the model of the independents.§ This society was a mixture of pædobaptists and antipædobaptists. It was furnished with two ministers, as co-pastors; Mr. Wroth was of the former denomination, and Mr. William Thomas of the latter. The two pastors were intimately acquainted with the independents and baptists at Bristol, by whom also they were highly respected, as appears from the records of the church in Broad Mead, Bristol. It is observed in these records, that when Mr. Wroth and other reforming ministers came from South Wales, the professors of religion used to run

\* Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 111.

† Ibid. p. 112.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Land, vol. i. p. 537, 544, 555.

§ Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 47.

after them, hungering for the food of their souls. When our pious divine was in Bristol, he lodged at the house of Mr. Listun, whose children he used to teach the following lines :

Thy sin: thy end: the death of Christ:  
 The eternal pangs of hell:  
 The day of doom: the joys of heaven:  
 These six remember well.

Thus this holy and humble man would be doing good both to young and old wherever he went; and such was the zeal of many in those times, that they would go from Bristol to hear him preach in his own country.

Mr. Wroth and his brethren, Mr. Erbery and Mr. Craddock, were exceedingly harassed and persecuted in Wales, when they resolved to preach the gospel in all places, whether consecrated or unconsecrated. In imitation of Christ, they went about doing good, wherever they had an opportunity: and when they were persecuted in one city, or in one part of the country, they determined, in obedience to Christ, to flee unto another.\* Upon the prospect of the national confusions, Mr. Wroth, being an old man, wished, in submission to the will of God, to be at rest before the sound of war was heard in the land. Herein his desire was granted. He died a little before the sword was drawn, about the beginning of the year 1642.†

WILLIAM RATHBAND was a puritan divine of great eminence in his day. He preached nineteen years at a chapel in Lancashire, but afterwards, being much persecuted for nonconformity, removed into Northumberland. Having published a book against the Brownists, which Dr. Stillingfleet quoted to prove that preaching, when prohibited by the established laws, was contrary to the doctrine of all the old nonconformists; Mr. William Rathband, his son, in a letter to Mr. Baxter, assures him, "That his father was not to be reckoned among those who held that sentiment, since he exercised his ministry, though contrary to law, for many years at a chapel in Lancashire; and after he was silenced he preached in private, as he had opportunity, and the times would bear, of which I myself," says he, "was sometimes a witness. Afterwards, upon the invitation of a

\* Thomas's MS. Eccl. Hist. p. 295, 296.

† Thomas's MS. Hist. of Baptists, p. 537.

gentleman, he exercised his ministry at Belcham in Northumberland, for about a year; and from thence he removed to Ovingham, in the same county, where he preached about a year; till, being silenced there, he retired into a private family.\* The epistle to the reader, prefixed to Mr. Ball's "Answer to two Treatises of Mr. John Canne's," published in 1642, is subscribed by Mr. Rathband, together with several of his brethren; therefore, he was probably living at that period. He had two sons in the ministry, one of whom was a puritan of considerable eminence; who, during the civil wars, and upon the reduction of York by the parliament's forces, was constituted one of the four preachers maintained by the state in that city with honourable stipends. After some time, he removed from this situation, when he was succeeded by Mr. Peter Williams.† His other son, the above Mr. William Rathband, was one of the silenced nonconformists in 1662.‡

**TOBIAS CRISP, D. D.**—This zealous minister was born in Bread-street, London, in the year 1600, and educated first at Eton school, then in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards at Oxford, where he was incorporated member of Baliol college, in 1626. He was descended from a most wealthy family. His father was Ellis Crisp, a rich merchant, and sometimes alderman and sheriff of the city of London. Sir Nicholas Crisp was his elder brother. In the year 1627 he became rector of Brinkworth in Wiltshire, and in a few years after took his doctor's degree. He continued at Brinkworth till the commencement of the civil wars, and was much followed for his edifying way of preaching, and his great hospitality to all persons who resorted to his house.§ His doctrine being spiritual, evangelical, and particularly suited to the case of awakened sinners, greatly promoted their peace and comfort; and his method being plain, familiar, and easy to be understood by persons of the meanest capacity, was particularly adapted to the condition of his hearers. And, as he had a plentiful estate of his own, he was uncommonly liberal and hospitable to strangers who came from a distance to attend upon his ministry; and, according to the information of some of his

\* Baxter's Second Plea, p. 193.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 779.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 217.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 13.



descendants, upwards of an hundred persons have been received and entertained in his house at the same time, when ample provision was made for them and their horses.

“ Dr. Crisp set out,” it is said, “ in the legal way of preaching, in which he was exceedingly zealous, and had an earnest desire to glorify God in his life and ministry. He did not seek, but refused all that worldly advancement, to which his way was open through his parentage and friends; but gave himself up wholly to the preaching of the word, and a conscientious practice of it, being unblamable in his life and conversation. None were more constant in preaching, praying, and repeating sermons, performing public, family, and private exercises, and in the strict observation of the Lord’s day. His zeal for glorifying God in this way, did not abate, but increase, after he had a clearer knowledge of Christ, and of the doctrines of grace; working from better principles, and with better views, being willing to spend and be spent, for the service of the meanest of God’s people. He was far from pride, vanity, and self-conceit; and full of meekness, lowliness, and tender affection. Hereby it appeared that the gospel of Christ had a very great influence upon his soul, which engaged him to preach it freely without any expectation of worldly advantage, and in a way which was sure to bring upon him not the favour and esteem of men, but reproach and persecution. His doctrine,” our author adds, “ was falsely charged with antinomianism; but the innocency and harmlessness of his life, and his fervency in goodness, was a manifest practical argument to confute the slanders of Satan, against the most holy faith which he preached.”\* Mr. Neal says, “ that the doctor, in his younger days, had been a favourer of arminianism; but, changing his opinions, he ran into the contrary extreme of antinomianism.” Though the former part of the charge will be admitted by most persons, the latter some will deny; and observe, that his sermons upon “ Free Grace the Teacher of Good Works,” and “ The Use of the Law,” with some others, contain an abundant refutation of the charge. But the above writer observes, “ that he was certainly a learned and religious person, modest and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial work, and exact in his morals.” Mr. Lancaster, the publisher of his works, says, “ that his

\* Life of Dr. Crisp, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 7, 8. Edit. 1791.

life was so innocent and harmless from all evil, and so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed to be designed as a practical refutation of the slander of those who would insinuate that his doctrine tended to licentiousness.\* The celebrated Dr. Twisse observes, "that he had read Dr. Crisp's sermons, and could give no reason why they were opposed; but," said he, "because so many were converted by his ministry, and so few by ours." Mr. Cole, the excellent author of a treatise on "Regeneration," declared, that if he had only one hundred pounds in the world, and Dr. Crisp's book could not be procured for less than fifty, he would give that sum rather than be without it; saying, "I have found more satisfaction in it, than in all the books in the world, except the Bible."†

Persons who have embraced sentiments which afterwards appear to them erroneous, often think they can never remove too far from them; and the more remote they go from their former opinions, the nearer they come to the truth. This was unhappily the case with Dr. Crisp. His ideas of the grace of Christ had been exceedingly low, and he had imbibed sentiments which produced in him a legal and self-righteous spirit. Shocked at the recollection of his former views and conduct, he seems to have imagined that he could never go far enough from them; and that he could never speak too highly of the grace and love of the Redeemer, nor in too degrading terms of legality and self-righteousness. But many were of opinion, that he went to such an excess in magnifying the grace of God, as to turn it into wantonness: and that he was so severe against all legality and self-righteousness, that true holiness and obedience to the divine will were in danger of being discarded. He was fond of expressions which alarm, and paradoxes which astonish. Many of these, a person skilled in theology will perceive to be capable of a good meaning: but readers uninstructed, who compose the most numerous class, are in danger of misapprehending them, and of being led into pernicious errors. This good man, it is said, perplexed and puzzled himself about the divine purposes. He did not distinguish, as he ought to have done, between God's secret will in his decrees, and his revealed will in his covenant and promises; and in his views of the decrees, he frequently speaks as if he had forgotten that they have respect to the means as well as the end. He also discovered

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 13.

† Life of Dr. Crisp, p. 9.

a great degree of inaccuracy in his ideas of the substitution of Christ in the place of the redeemed, and of our Lord's mediatorial office, both in procuring and applying the blessings of redemption.\* "His writings," says Dr. Williams, "have in them a singular mixture of excellencies and faults. What is exceptionable arises chiefly from unqualified expressions, rather than from the author's main design."†

Upon the commencement of the civil wars, Dr. Crisp, being puritanically inclined, was driven from his rectory by the king's soldiers, and, to avoid their insolence, obliged to flee to London; where, on account of his peculiar sentiments about the doctrines of grace, he met with a most vigorous opposition from the divines of the city. Here he engaged in a grand dispute, having no less than fifty-two opponents; by which encounter, eagerly managed on his part, he contracted a disease which presently brought him to his grave. He died, it is said, of the small-pox, February 27, 1643, aged forty-three years. His remains were interred in the family vault in St. Mildred's church, Bread-street, London.‡ In his last sickness, he was in a resigned and most comfortable state of mind, and declared to those about him his firm adherence to the doctrines which he had preached; also, that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Christ, so he did now, with confidence and joy, even as much as his present condition was able to sustain, resign his life and soul into the hands of his heavenly Father.§ His wife was the daughter of Rowland Wilson, alderman and sheriff of London, a member of the long parliament, and one of the council of state. By him she had thirteen children, eleven of whom survived him.

Dr. Crisp published nothing himself; but, after his death, in 1643, 1644, and 1646, his friends published three volumes of sermons from his notes, entitled, "Christ alone Exalted, in the Perfection and Encouragement of his Saints, notwithstanding their Sins and Trials." When they came from the press, it is said that the assembly of divines talked of having them burnt, as a just punishment of the heresy which they contained.|| Mr. Flavel and other nonconformists exposed his errors, and expressed a lively sense of

\* Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 400, 401. Edit. 1808.

† Christian Preacher, p. 456.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 13.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 19.

|| Bogue and Bennett's Dissenters, vol. i. p. 401.



the dangerous opinions which the doctor held. The controversy, however, was at rest till the year 1690, when his son, Samuel Crisp, esq. published a new edition of the above sermons, with the addition of ten more, making in all fifty-two; and procured to the work the attestation of several ministers, that the discourses were the doctor's own productions, and copied from his manuscripts. This occasioned a new controversy, which, for seven years, was carried on with great warmth and intemperate zeal. Many eminent divines engaged in this controversy. Among those who took a leading part in the dispute was Dr. Daniel Williams. He considered many of Crisp's assertions as exceedingly dangerous. And concerning the commutation of persons between Christ and the sinner, he could not but look upon it to be "not only false, absurd, and impossible, but also an impious and blasphemous opinion, as being dishonourable to our Saviour, repugnant to the wisdom and justice of God, and leading plainly to subvert the whole design of christianity."

Here, says our author, lay the root of Dr. Crisp's error, which shot its fibres into almost every subject. He viewed the union between Christ and believers to be of such a kind as actually to make a Saviour of the sinner, and a sinner of the Saviour. He speaks as if God considered the sinner as doing and suffering what Christ did and suffered; and Christ as having committed their sins, and as being actually guilty of them. The confusion and dreadful mistakes arising hence can scarcely be described. If we add, as already intimated, that his mind was perplexed about the divine decrees, and that he confounded them with God's revealed will, and strangely blended the divine purpose and the execution of it, as if they were one and the same thing, the reader will perceive the cause of his mistakes. The unhallowed influence of these opinions, the doctor appears not to have felt; but, scattering them among the multitude, he was like a man throwing fire-brands, arrows, and death. This unhappy controversy produced a separation among two respectable parties of the dissenters, which continues to this day.\*

\* For a more ample account of this controversy, see Bogue and Bennett's *Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 401—409.—Wilson's *Hist. of Dissenting Churches*, vol. ii. p. 201—204.

ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, D. D.—This great sufferer for nonconformity was born in Scotland, about the year 1568, and educated, most probably, in one of the Scotch universities. He took his degree of doctor in divinity in the two universities of St. Andrews and Leyden.\* Granger incorrectly observes, that he was not doctor of divinity, but of physic, though exercised in the ministry; and adds, that when he was interdicted the practice of physic by the president and censors of the college of physicians, in the reign of James I., as a disqualified person, he alleged that he had taken the doctor's degree at Leyden, under professor Heurnius. It was then objected to him, that he had taken priest's orders; and being asked why he did not adhere to the profession to which he had been ordained, he excepted against the ceremonies, but owned himself to be a clergyman. Still persisting to practise in London, or within seven miles of the city, he was censured as disgraceful to the profession.† He was father to Sir Ellis Leighton and the eminently pious Archbishop Leighton, of whom Bishop Burnet gives so excellent a character, and whose works are held in such high reputation at the present day.‡

This reverend divine obtained a good reputation for ability, learning, and piety; but his zeal against episcopacy and the oppressions of the bishops exposed him to numerous and painful sufferings. He published a book, entitled, "An Appeal to Parliament; or, Sion's Plea against the Prelacie;" for which he met with unexampled cruelty in the star-chamber. In this book he expressed his sentiments against the hierarchy and the proceedings of the ruling prelates with considerable freedom, and with too much zeal and warmth for the times. The book was dedicated to the parliament, in which some of our historians have observed,§ "That he excited the parliament and the people to kill all the bishops, by smiting them under the fifth rib; and bitterly inveighed against the queen, calling her the daughter of *Heth, a Canaanite*, and an *idolatress*." If this account were perfectly correct, and Leighton had excited them to kill all the bishops, surely this would have been no greater crime than the bishops *actually killing* vast numbers of puritans, by the cruel punishments

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 181.—Scots' Worthies, p. 141. Edit. 1796.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 180.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 194.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 136.—Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 5.

which they inflicted upon them. And, if *oppression make a wise man mad*, it can be no great wonder if the intolerable oppressions of the bishops hurried some of the puritans, especially those of warm spirits, to use methods of indiscretion. But the assertions of our authors, that he excited the parliament and people to take away the lives of the bishops, is without foundation. The truth is, says Mr. Peirce, after enumerating a great many grievances and miseries, occasioned by the episcopal establishment, he excited the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy, that the nation might be delivered from any further danger: but that he ever urged them to put the bishops to death, whether they were guilty or not guilty of any crime, is what I cannot find in the book. Nay, I meet with that which is directly the contrary. Towards the close of the book, he observes as follows: "To make an end of our present subject, we wish your honours might prevail with the prelates, by fair means, to cast off their overcharging calling. If they will not be thus persuaded, we fear they are like pleuritic patients, who cannot spit, and whom nothing but incision will cure: we mean of their *callings*, not of their *persons*; with whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they wish either us or themselves. One of their desperate mountebanks out of the pulpit could find no cure for us, their supposed enemies, but pricking in the bladder: but *we have not so learned Christ*."\* Besides, there was no such thing among the charges brought against him in the star-chamber, which most certainly would not have been omitted, if any such expression had been found in the book.+ What degree of credit is, therefore, due to men who represent the sense of authors directly contrary to their own express words! What they design by such misrepresentation, is left with the candid reader to judge.

With respect to Dr. Leighton's calling the queen the daughter of *Heth*, a *Canaanite*, and an *idolatress*, though they are indecent and unbecoming epithets, when applied to the queen; yet he obviously meant by these expressions, that she was an avowed *papist*, and she was, in fact, a most notorious and bitter papist. Archbishop Tillotson afterwards used certain expressions concerning the marriage of foreign popish princes with our own, not much better than those of Dr. Leighton, without giving any umbrage what-

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 177, 178.

† Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 56, 57.



ever. The worthy prelate styled them "the people of these abominations;" and added, that it was by these marriages for two or three generations, that popery was so much countenanced in his day.\* If this language had been used at the time that Leighton's was, it would no doubt have been equally resented. Though Leighton's book was written in spirit and language too warm for the times, yet Dr. Harris, who had particularly examined the work, says, "It was written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually shewed in their productions."† But the impartial reader will be the better able to judge for himself, from the following circumstantial account, as collected from the most authentic historians.

On February 29, 1629, Dr. Leighton, coming out of Blackfriars church, was seized by a warrant from the high commission court; and, by a multitude of men armed, was dragged to Bishop Laud's house. From thence, without any examination, he was carried to Newgate, and there clapt in irons, and thrust into a loathsome dog-hole, full of rats and mice; and the roof being uncovered, the rain and snow beat in upon him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, except the ruins of an old smoky chimney; where he had neither meat nor drink from the Tuesday night till Thursday noon. In this loathsome and miserable place, he continued fifteen weeks, not any of his friends, or even his wife, being permitted to come near him, and was denied a copy of his commitment. On the fourth day after his imprisonment, the pursuivants belonging to the high commission went to his house, and laid violent hands upon his distressed wife, using her with the most shameful and barbarous inhumanity; and holding a pistol to the breast of a child five years old, threatening to kill him, if he would not inform them where the books were, by which the child was so frightened, that he never recovered. They broke open presses, chests, boxes, &c. though his wife was willing to open all. They carried away all the books, manuscripts, apparel, household stuff, and other things, leaving nothing they wished to possess. During his confinement in Newgate, it appeared from the opinion of four physicians, that poison had been given him; for his hair and skin came off. As he lay in this deplorable situation, sentence was passed upon him in the star-chamber, even without hearing a single word he had to say, though a certificate from four

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 178.

† Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 225.

physicians and an attorney was given of the dreadful state of his complaint.\*

But it will be requisite to give a particular account of the charges brought against this unhappy man. June 4, 1630, an information was exhibited against Dr. Leighton in the star-chamber, by Attorney-general Heath, when he was charged with having published and dispersed a scandalous book against the king, peers, and prelates, entitled, "Sion's Plea against the Prelacie;" in which, among other things, he sets forth these false and seditious assertions and positions following:

1. "That we do not read of greater persecution, and higher indignity done upon God's people in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth.

2. "He terms the prelates of this realm *men of blood*, and enemies to God and the state; and saith, that the maintaining and establishing of bishops within this realm, is a main and master sin established by law, and that ministers should have no voices in council deliberative and decisive.

3. "He avows the prelacy of our church to be antichristian and satanical, and terms the bishops ravens and magpies, that prey upon the state.

3. "He terms the canons of our church, made in 1603, *nonsense-canons*.

4. "He disallows and contemns the ceremony of *kneeling* in receiving the sacrament, alleging that this spawn of the *beast* was brought forth by the prelates, to promote their own unlawful standing.

5. "He affirms that the prelates have corrupted the king, forestalling his judgment against God and goodness, and most audaciously and wickedly calleth his majesty's royal consort, our gracious queen, the *daughter of Heith*.

7. "He most impiously seems to commend him who committed the barbarous and bloody act of murdering the late Duke of Buckingham, and to encourage others to second him in the like wicked and desperate attempt, to the destruction of others.

8. "He layeth a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming, 'That all who pass by us spoil us, and we spoil all who rely upon us.' And amongst other particulars, instanceth the black pining death of the famished *Rochellers*, to the number of fifteen hundred

\* General Ludlow's Letter to Dr. Hollingworth, p. 22. Edit. 1692.—  
Essay on Charles I. p. 83, 84. Edit. 1748.

in four months. By which passages and wicked assertions, he doth as much as in him lay, scandalize his majesty's sacred person; his religious, wise, and just government; the person of his royal consort, the queen; the persons of the lords and peers of the realm, especially the reverend bishops.

9. "That in another place in the said book, endeavouring not only to slander his majesty's sacred person and government, but to detract from his royal power, in making laws and canons for ecclesiastical government, he saith, 'That the church hath its laws from the *scripture*, and that no king may make laws in the house of God; for if they might, then the scripture would be imperfect.'

10. "And he is further charged in another place in the said book, with these words following, thinking to salve all with an expression of his sacred majesty: 'What a pity it is, and indelible dishonour it will be to you, the states representative, that so ingenuous and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused, to the undoing of himself and his subjects.' " \*

These ten particulars contain all the charges brought against Dr. Leighton, and we may be sure they were the worst that could be collected out of his book, his enemies being judges. The unprejudiced reader here sees the worst part of Leighton's character, and will easily judge what degree of criminality was attached to his conduct. Though some of the above assertions were unjustifiable, many of them were certainly true, and too glaringly manifest in the history of those times. Dr. Leighton, in his answer to the above charges, confessed, that when the parliament was sitting, in the year 1628, he drew up the heads of his book; and having the approbation of five hundred persons under their own hands, some of whom were members of parliament, he went into Holland to get it printed. Also, that he printed betwixt five and six hundred only for the use of the parliament; but they being dissolved before the work was finished, he returned home, not bringing any of them into the kingdom, but made it his special care to suppress them. He confessed his writing the book, but with no such ill intention as suggested in the information. His only object was to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, that the parliament might be induced to take them into



consideration, and give such redress as might be most for the honour of the king, the advantage of the people, and the peace of the church.

When the cause was heard, the doctor's defence was read at length, and the various particulars contained in his charges were read out of his book. In answer to the first charge, viz. "That we do not read of greater persecution of God's people, in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth;" he confessed the words, and said, "The thing is too true, by the prelates taking away the life and livelihood from many ministers and private men, many of whom have been pined to death in prison; and many have wandered up and down, their families being left desolate and helpless: and besides this, the blood of souls hath been endangered, by the removal of the faithful shepherds from their flocks." This was a most cutting truth; at which Laud was so exceedingly enraged, that he desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him. This they did to his lordship's fullest satisfaction. For Leighton was condemned to be degraded from his ministry, to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, to stand in the pillory, to be whipped at a post, to pay ten thousand pounds, (though they knew he was not worth so much,) and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The grateful sentence being passed against him, Laud pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, GAVE THANKS TO GOD, WHO HAD GIVEN HIM THE VICTORY OVER HIS ENEMIES.\* A certain knight having moved one of the lords relative to the dreadful nature of the censure, intimating that it opened a door to the prelates to inflict the most disgraceful punishments and tortures upon men of quality; *that* lord replied, that it was designed only for the terror of others, and that he would not have any one to think the sentence would ever be executed. This worthy lord, however, was greatly mistaken; for Laud and his adherents caused the dreadful sentence to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The ruling ecclesiastics proceeded with proper decorum, and a due observance of ecclesiastical order. Therefore, November 4th, he was degraded in the high commission; and on the 10th of the same month, being a star-chamber day, the barbarous sentence was to be executed; but the

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 56, 57.—Ludlow's Letter, p. 22, 23.

preceding evening he made his escape out of the Fleet, where he had been kept a close prisoner. Information of his escape was no sooner announced to the lords of the council, than they caused the following hue and cry to be printed and published through the country :

“ A hue and cry against Dr. Leighton.

“ Whereas Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman born, who was lately sentenced by the honourable court of star-chamber to pay a great fine to his majesty, and to undergo corporal punishment, for writing, printing and publishing a very libellous and seditious book against the king and his government, hath this eleventh day of November escaped out of the prison of the Fleet, where he was a prisoner. These are in his majesty's name to require and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, customers, searchers, and officers of the ports, and all others his majesty's loving subjects, to use all diligence for the apprehending of the said Alexander Leighton ; and being apprehended, safely to keep him in custody until his majesty shall receive notice thereof, and shall give further direction concerning him. He is a man of low stature, fair complexion ; he hath a yellowish beard, a high forehead, and is between forty and fifty years of age.”\*

This hue and cry followed him into Bedfordshire, where he was apprehended, and brought again prisoner to the Fleet. Relative to Dr. Leighton's escape, and the execution of part of the sentence, Bishop Laud made the following memorial in his diary : “ November 4, Leighton was degraded in the high commission. November 9, he broke out of the Fleet ; the warden says, he got or was helped over the wall ;† and professes he knew not this from Tuesday till Wednesday noon. He told it not me till Thursday night. Leighton was taken again in Bedfordshire, and within a fortnight brought back to the Fleet. November 26, part of his sentence was executed upon him at Westminster.”‡ Such was the particular memorial which this reverend prelate preserved of these sacred proceedings !

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 57.—The account of the doctor's age is here certainly very incorrect.

† Herein both the warden and the bishop were mistaken. His two friends, Mr. Levinston and Mr. Anderson, lent him their clothes, by which means he got out of prison in disguise. This, however, was no sooner found out than his two friends were prosecuted in the star-chamber ; when they were fined each *five hundred pounds*, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.—*Ibid.* p. 58.

‡ Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 16.—Wharton's Laud, vol. i. p. 45.

The sentence, so grateful to the remembrance of Laud, was inflicted in the following most shocking and barbarous manner: he was carried to Westminster, where he had one of his ears cut off, then one side of his nose slit; he was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. for a *sower of sedition*; he was put in the pillory, and kept there nearly two hours in frost and snow; he was then tied to a post, whipped with a triple cord to that cruel degree, that every lash brought away the flesh; and he himself affirmed, ten years after, that he should feel it to his dying day. And after this shocking barbarity, he was not permitted to return to his quarters in the Fleet in a coach prepared for the purpose; but was compelled, in that lamentable condition and severe season, to go by water. On that day sevensnight, his nose, ear, face, and back not being yet cured, he was taken to the pillory in Cheapside; when the other ear was cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded; he was then set in the pillory, and whipped a second time. He was then carried back to the Fleet, where he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire, not being sheltered from the rain and snow. He was shut up in close prison, and not suffered to breathe in the open air for ten or eleven years, until the meeting of the long parliament. And when he came forth from his long and miserable confinement, he could neither *walk, see, nor hear*.\* The sufferings of this learned divine greatly moved the compassion of the people; and, surely, the records of the *inquisition* can hardly furnish an example of similar barbarity.

The long parliament having assembled, Dr. Leighton presented a petition, November 7, 1640, to the house of commons, complaining of the hard usage he had met with; which the house could not hear without several interruptions with floods of tears.† The petition being read, an order passed the house, “That Dr. Leighton shall have liberty by the warrant of this house, to go abroad in safe custody, to prosecute his petition here exhibited; and that he be removed out of the common prison, where he now is, into some more convenient place, and have the liberty of the Fleet.” A committee was at the same time appointed to take his case into mature consideration.‡

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 58.—Ludlow's Letter, p. 24.

† A copy of this moving petition, the substance of which has been already given, is still preserved.—*Essay on Charles I.* p. 83—86.

‡ Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 20.



Through the innumerable complaints from all quarters, and a multitude of other concerns which came before the house and the committee, some time elapsed before the result of the examination of Dr. Leighton's case came forth. But, April 21, 1641, Mr. Rouse having delivered the report of the committee, the house came to the following resolutions :

1. " That the attaching, imprisoning, and detaining Dr. Leighton in prison, by warrant of the high commission, is illegal.

2. " That the breaking up of Dr. Leighton's house, and taking away his papers by Edward Wright, then sheriff of London, and now lord mayor, is illegal.

3. " That the said Edward Wright ought to give reparations to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by breaking open his house, and taking away his papers and other goods.

4. " That the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by fifteen weeks imprisonment in Newgate, upon the said bishop's warrant.

5. " That the great fine of ten thousand pounds laid upon Dr. Leighton, by sentence of the star-chamber, is illegal.

6. " That the sentence of the corporal punishment imposed upon Dr. Leighton; the whipping, branding, slitting the nose, cutting off his ears, setting in the pillory, and the execution thereof, and the imprisonment thereupon, are illegal.

7. " That Dr. Leighton ought to be freed from the great fine of ten thousand pounds, and from the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and to have his bonds delivered to him, which he entered into for his true imprisonment.

8. " That Dr. Leighton ought to have good satisfaction and reparation for his great sufferings and damages sustained by the illegal sentence in the star-chamber."\*

These were the resolutions of the house of commons, after a mature examination of his most affecting case. It is observed, that he was voted to receive six thousand pounds for damages, but, most probably, on account of the confusions of the times, it was never paid him.+ In the year 1642, Dr. Leighton, by the appointment of the house of commons, was made keeper of Lambeth-house, when

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 228, 229.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 799, 800.

+ Scots' Worthies, p. 141.

turned into a prison; where, it is said, "he did to some purpose make reprisals for his damages, and with much rigour persecuted the purses of the loyal clergy and gentry."\* How far this may be correct we are unable to ascertain; but, supposing every word of it be true, it will never justify intolerance and persecution, either in himself or in his enemies. He was keeper of the above prison in the year 1643, but when he died we are not able to learn.†

JOHN SEDGWICK, B. D.—This person was the younger brother to Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, another worthy puritan divine; born at Marlborough in Wiltshire, in the year 1601, and educated first at Queen's college, then at Magdalen-hall, Oxford; where he made uncommon application in the study of divinity. When he applied for the degree of bachelor of arts, it was at first denied him, says our author, "because that when he was to be admitted to the order of deacon, he did belie the university by using the title of B. A. before he was admitted to that degree." If he acted thus, his conduct was base indeed. It is, however, added, that he afterwards begged pardon for what he had done, made a public submission before the venerable congregation of regents, and obtained that degree, as also the others. Leaving the university, he was beneficed in the city of London, and about the same time he became preacher at Chiswick in Middlesex, and was afterwards vicar of Langley in Essex.‡ Wood mistakes him for his brother, when he observes that he was minister of Coggeshall in this county. Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he became chaplain to the Earl of Stamford's regiment;§ was appointed one of the sub-committee for raising money to carry on the war; and chosen rector of St. Alphage, near London-wall. He was an avowed enemy to prelacy and antinomianism. Wood says, "Though he had only one thumb, yet he would not have had one ear, had not his majesty bestowed two upon him; when, about the year 1633, they were sentenced to the pillory. Since which time he hath been so grateful a penitent, that in one day he was proved guilty of simony, sacrilege, and adultery."||

\* Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 512.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 198, 203.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 157.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 42.

|| Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.

He might, indeed, be sentenced to the pillory, as one persecuted for righteousness sake. This was no uncommon thing in those days. And that his majesty might reverse the cruel sentence, being founded neither in justice nor sound policy, is not for a moment disputed. But to prove that Mr. Sedgwick was guilty of *simony*, *scurrilosity*, and *adultery*, as here alleged, requires better evidence than our author has produced. The heavy charge wholly rests on the testimony of "*Mercurius Aulicus*," a scurrilous and abusive weekly paper, published during the civil wars, and designed, by malice and falsehood, to blacken the memory of all who espoused the cause of the parliament. But our author adds concerning Mr. Sedgwick, that "after all his actings to carry on the *blessed cause*, he *very unwillingly* gave up the ghost," in the month of October, 1643, aged forty-two years. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Alphage church, when Mr. Thomas Case preached his funeral sermon, of which Wood, upon the above authority, gives the following account: "John Sedgwick (one of the three brothers with four fingers on a hand) hath spent his lungs, and caused Mr. Thomas Case to exercise his, which he did very mournfully in his funeral sermon lately preached, telling the audience, that his departed brother was now free from plunder; and that when he was ready to expire, he would often ask, How does the army? How does his excellency? (meaning the Earl of Essex;) with many such sweet expressions, as moved a certain citizen to send Mr. Case a fair new gown, lest he chance to recur to his old way of borrowing."\* The design of this representation is obvious to every reader.

HIS WORKS.—1. *Fury fired, or, Crueltie scourged*, a Sermon on Amos i. 12., 1625.—2. *The Bearing and Burden of the Spirit*, in two Sermons on Prov. xviii. 14., 1639.—3. *The Eye of Faith open to God*, 1640.—4. *The Wonder-working God; or, the Lord doing Wonders*, 1641.—5. *England's Troubles*, 1641.—6. *Antinomianisme Anatomized; or, a Glass for the Lawless, who denie the Moral Law unto Christians under the Gospel*, 1643.

RICHARD SEDGWICK.—This eminent minister was born at East Dereham in Norfolk, in the year 1574, and educated in Peter-house, Cambridge. It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Sedgwick, a memoir of

\* Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.



whom is given in the preceding article. His father, a respectable clothier, suffering great losses by fire, became reduced in his circumstances. He had an uncle in Yorkshire, who, possessing large estates, and having no children, took him in his tender years under his care, gave him a good school education, and intended to make him his heir : but God designed to give him a better portion. His uncle and the rest of the family were much addicted to profaneness ; yet in this situation God in mercy awakened him to a serious concern for his soul. While the other branches of the family were engaged in their profane sports, young Sedgwick was oftentimes mourning over their sins before the Lord in private. His uncle at first thought that he retired only on account of his uncommon fondness for books ; and therefore gave him occasionally a gentle rebuke, urging him to use greater liberty. But at length, perceiving that his nephew was become seriously thoughtful about religion, and that he retired for the purpose of private devotion, he treated him very roughly ; and finding that he could not by any threatenings constrain him to renounce his religion, he cast him out of his family, saying, “ A puritan shall never inherit my land.”

Young Sedgwick, being rejected by his uncle, returned to his mother, who sent him to the university, where he distinguished himself in all kinds of useful learning. After finishing his studies, he entered upon the ministerial function, and settled at some place in Kent. While in this situation, he was called to preach occasionally in the cathedral of Canterbury ; and exposing the manifold corruptions of the cathedral worship, he incurred the displeasure of the ruling ecclesiastics ; on account of which he was required to make a public recantation, and a day was appointed for the purpose. During the interval he derived unspeakable encouragement from these words, “ *Whatsoever I command thee, thou shalt speak : be not afraid of their faces ; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord,*” and resolved that he would not recant, but abide by the truth which he had already delivered, whatever it might cost him. At the time appointed, he preached again at the cathedral, to a very large assembly, all expecting to hear a debasing recantation ; but, to the great mortification of his malicious persecutors, instead of a recantation, he laboured, with all his learning and abilities, to confirm what he had before advanced, warmly recommending the ecclesiastics to reform their abuses. This so exceedingly

offended his enemies, that they immediately complained of him to the archbishop, and to escape the storm he was obliged to leave the place.\*

Mr. Sedgwick escaped the snare of his enemies, and was entertained for some time by Sir Edward Bois, a man of distinguished piety, and a great friend to the persecuted puritans. Afterwards he became domestic chaplain to Sir Edward Anslaw, at Crawley in Surrey, where he preached twice every Lord's day. Sir Edward was a pious and worthy person, and his house was a constant asylum for the persecuted puritans. Upon the removal of this excellent family, Mr. Sedgwick became assistant to the venerable Dr. Wyburn, minister of Battersea in the above county. He had not continued long in this situation before fresh snares were laid for him. As a zealous and faithful servant of Christ, he reproved sin with great boldness, and spoke against the corruptions of the church with some degree of freedom; for which he was cited before the high commission, to answer the several charges exhibited against him. He appeared before his ecclesiastical judges according to appointment, and resolved to defend the truth whatever it might cost him; but, to his great surprise, he was treated with civility, and honourably acquitted. This was towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.†

Mr. Sedgwick afterwards leaving his native country, became minister to the English merchants at Hamburgh, where he happily introduced a purer church discipline, and the Lord abundantly blessed his labours. During his abode at Hamburgh, though he was zealous for the discipline of the New Testament, it appears that he was no bigot; but joined in communion with the Dutch churches, and admitted them to the Lord's table in the church of which he was pastor. The merchants presently found the benefit of his ministry, in the orderly and christian deportment of those whom they employed. Nevertheless, in this situation he was not without his enemies. Certain persons, extreme bigots to episcopacy, threatened to have him brought to England, and prosecuted for nonconformity; but while this was in agitation, God summoned his principal adversary before another tribunal. He continued a successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard about twelve years; and upon the dissolution of the company of merchants, he returned to England; after which he preached some time at Monmouth. In the year

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 157.

† Ibid. p. 158.

1617, a new chapel having been erected in Wapping, London, he was chosen minister, and there continued to the day of his death.

His life and conversation, says Mr. Clark, were holy and exemplary, and his labours abundant. His ministry was close, searching, and useful. His deportment was affable and courteous, yet grave and venerable. He was much given to acts of charity; and he allowed a certain sum annually towards the support of suspended ministers. He constantly exercised a most tender care over the people of his charge, especially during the raging of the plague. Instead of forsaking the flock when danger approached, he still continued to attend upon his numerous duties, labouring to do them all the good in his power. Nor were his diligence and faithfulness unrewarded. For though all the families around him were infected, and multitudes swept away by death, the dreadful malady never invaded his habitation. At length, having fought the good fight, having finished his course, and kept the faith, he was called to receive the crown of righteousness, in the year of our Lord 1643, aged sixty-nine years.\*

**JULINES HERRING, A. M.**—This worthy minister was born in the parish of Flamber-Mayre, Montgomeryshire, in the year 1582, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge. He was a hard student, and an excellent scholar in the various branches of useful literature. Having finished his studies at the university, he employed his first ministerial labours in the city of Coventry, where he preached with great approbation. At this place he studied divinity under the venerable Mr. Humphrey Fenn, a divine famous in that city, both for his ministry and nonconformity. As Mr. Herring could not, with a good conscience, enter upon the ministry by subscription according to the demands of the prelates, he obtained ordination from an Irish bishop without it. He first settled in the ministry at Caulk, near Melburn in Derbyshire. In this situation he enjoyed the protection and encouragement of Mr. Bainbridge, a gentleman of good estate and great piety. His peace and liberty were preserved for a considerable time from the molestations of the prelates. Multitudes flocked to hear him from all quarters, and many came from a great distance. The

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 158—160.



chapel soon became too small to contain so large a company; but having a clear strong voice, great numbers enjoyed the privilege of hearing him who could not gain admittance. He was instrumental in turning many to righteousness. Under his ministry at this place, Mr. Simeon Ashe, afterwards the famous nonconformist in 1662, received his first religious impressions.\*

Mr. Herring, after preaching at Caulk about eight years, could be no longer sheltered from the severities of the prelates, but was driven from the place for nonconformity. Previous to his removal he entered into the married state. His wife was his constant comforter under all his future trials. They had thirteen children; and by the blessing of God upon their appropriate religious instructions, had the unspeakable happiness to behold the indications of piety in the whole of their offspring. To the honour of Mr. Herring, it is observed, that whenever he corrected his children, he previously endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their sin in the sight of God, and then looked up to the Lord for a blessing upon his corrections. This method the Lord seemed to own for much good.

His public labours being interrupted in the above situation, and having no prospect of again enjoying the peaceable exercise of his ministry, the Lord opened for him a door of usefulness at Shrewsbury. Here he preached at St. Alkmond's church every Tuesday morning, and occasionally on the Lord's day. But spies were appointed to watch him, that if possible some advantage might be obtained with a view to his prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts. Yet he conducted himself on all occasions with so much prudence, and invariably prayed so fervently for the king and government, that his very adversaries gave this testimony of him: "That though he was scrupulous in matters of ceremony, he was a loyal subject to the king, and a true friend to the state." His clerical enemies were nevertheless envious of his reputation and popularity, and at length brought complaints against him to Bishop Morton, on account of his nonconformity; but other objections they had none. The bishop committed him to the examination of two clergymen, when Mr. Herring delivered his scruples in writing, and replied to their answers. They, in the conclusion, gave a certificate to the bishop, that they believed Mr. Herring, on conscientious grounds, still re-

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 160, 161.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 94.

mained unsatisfied; to which his grace replied, "that he was satisfied in his integrity." He was nevertheless suspended; and though, by the mediation of friends, his suspension was taken off several times, he was as repeatedly brought under the ecclesiastical censure. He thus continued at Shrewsbury seventeen years, sometimes enjoying his liberty, and sometimes under the frowns of the persecuting ecclesiastics.\*

This worthy servant of Christ, at last finding no prospect of public usefulness at Shrewsbury, removed to Wrenbury in Cheshire. Nor did he enjoy his liberty there, but went from house to house, instructing and comforting the people of God. It was his very meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly Father, and to be useful to souls. Therefore, in imitation of Christ, he went about doing good. His frequent suspension from his beloved work was exceedingly grievous to his active and pious soul. As there was no prospect of his restoration at any future period, he accepted an invitation, in the year 1636, to succeed Mr. John Paget, as co-pastor with Mr. Rulice to the English church at Amsterdam. Notwithstanding this, his difficulties were not ended; for by the power and influence of Archbishop Laud, all ministers were forbidden to leave the country without a license from the council. The faithful servants of the Lord were persecuted, and cast aside as useless, for attempting to worship God according to the testimony of scripture and the dictates of conscience, and were prohibited from retiring into a foreign land where they could enjoy the privilege without restraint. This surely savoured too much of the Romish bigotry and oppressions. In these painful circumstances was Mr. Herring; but he prayed to the Lord for deliverance, and so escaped the snare of his enemies. He took shipping at Yarmouth, and arrived at Rotterdam, September, 20, 1637, and went immediately to Amsterdam, where he was most affectionately received by his colleague, the English merchants, and the magistrates of the city. In this situation he continued the rest of his days, and was particularly esteemed for his genuine piety and ministerial usefulness.

Mr. Herring, towards the close of life, especially the night before he died, laboured under the furious assaults of Satan. But the painful conflict was no sooner over, than he arose upon his knees in bed, and, with his hands lifted up

\* Clark's Lives, p. 161, 162.

to heaven, exclaimed, "He is overcome, overcome, through the strength of my Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom I am now going, to keep a sabbath in glory." The next morning, being the Lord's day, March 28, 1644, he entered upon the joy of his Lord, aged sixty-two years. "He was a pious man," says Fuller, "and a painful and useful preacher, but disaffected to the discipline of the church."\* Mr. Clark denominates him "a hard student, a solid and judicious divine, and a workman who needed not to be ashamed. He was one of whom the world was not worthy; a messenger one of a thousand, and a faithful minister of Christ. He was a Boanerges to brawny-hearted sinners; and a Barnabas to broken-hearted saints. His sweet elocution pleasantly set forth his holy and judicious sermons. His sermons delivered to the congregation were printed in his actions. In doctrine, he shewed uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity; and in life, he shewed himself a pattern of good works. He was a conscientious nonconformist, and an avowed enemy to the pride and power of the prelates; for which he cheerfully and courageously bore his share of sufferings."†

Mr. Herring was eminently distinguished for meekness and love to his worst enemies. This will appear from the following anecdotes:—Dr. Lamb, a violent persecutor of the puritans, especially of Mr. Herring, being on a journey in the country, and having the misfortune to break his leg, was brought to the same inn where Mr. Herring was stopping all night. The good man was called upon that night to exercise in the family, and prayed so fervently and affectionately for the doctor, as greatly surprised those who were present. Being asked why he manifested so much respect towards a man so unworthy of it, he replied, "The greater enemy he is, the more need he hath of our prayers. We must prove ourselves to be the disciples of Christ by loving our enemies, and praying for our persecutors."—On another occasion, Archbishop Laud having said, "I will pickle that Herring of Shrewsbury," the good man meekly replied, "If he will abuse his power, let it teach christians the more to use their prayers: that the enemies of the nonconformists may see they have a God to trust in, when trampled upon by ill-disposed men."‡

\* Fuller's Worthies, part iv. p. 47.

† Clark's Lives, p. 163—168.

‡ Ibid. p. 163.



GEORGE PHILIPS.—This excellent person was born at Roudham in Norfolk, and educated at one of our universities. He was descended from wealthy and honourable parents, was richly furnished with learning, piety, and other endowments, and admirably qualified for the ministerial function. After he had finished his studies at college, he entered upon his public ministerial work at Boxford in Essex, where his labours were particularly acceptable and useful. He was induced afterwards to examine the controversy relative to church discipline and the ceremonies, when, after mature deliberation, he imbibed the sentiments of the non-conformists; and, not being ashamed of his principles, but looking upon it as a duty to make them publicly known, he occasionally noticed them in the exercises of the pulpit. This led some of his hearers of rigid episcopal sentiments to bring complaints against him to the celebrated Mr. John Rogers of Dedham. But Mr. Rogers had so high an opinion of our divine, that though he had not himself then particularly examined the controversy, he said, "I believe Mr. Philips will preach nothing without some good evidence for it from the word of God. You should, therefore, regard whatever he makes evident from that sacred word." The more Mr. Philips studied the subject, the more he became dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical establishment, and confirmed in his nonconformity.\*

Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer and the ecclesiastical ceremonies was now enforced with the utmost rigour, as a necessary qualification to every minister of Christ, which made strange havock among the churches, and persecution raged with extreme violence. All ministers, however great their talents, however excellent their piety, or however tender their consciences, were prohibited from preaching the gospel, unless they would bow to the traditions of men. All conscientious dissenters were obliged to lay down their ministry, suffer themselves to be cast into prison, or leave their native country. Some took one course, and some another; but Mr. Philips embraced the last. He resolved to remove to a place where he could enjoy liberty to preach without human impositions and cruel persecution. Therefore, in the year 1630, he embarked for New England, in company with the excellent Mr. Winthrop, and many other worthy christian friends. Soon after their arrival, Mr. Philips experienced a painful

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 82.

trial by the death of his wife, who had cheerfully left her native country, to accompany him to the new plantation.

Mr. Philips and his friends, upon their arrival in the American wilderness, fixed upon a spot on the banks of Charles's river, which they gave the name of Watertown. Here their first concern was to unite together in church fellowship, and to build a house for God, even before they built themselves habitations to dwell in. They set apart a day for extraordinary fasting and prayer, when they entered into a solemn covenant in the presence of God and one another. This covenant, dated July 30, 1630, is still preserved, and very excellent, but too long for insertion.\* About forty on that day subscribed this instrument, the first of whom was Sir Richard Saltonstal; and Mr. Philips was chosen to the office of pastor. Members were afterwards admitted to the church by subscribing the covenant a little altered, with a confession of faith annexed. In the above month, upon the first sitting of the court of government, it was determined, that Mr. Philips should have a house built at the public expense; and Governor Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstal were appointed to carry the same into effect. It was also ordered that Mr. Philips's salary should be thirty pounds a year.†

This excellent servant of the Lord continued at Watertown till the end of his days. His faithful labours and holy life became a great blessing to the new colony. The Lord made him instrumental in the conversion and salvation of many souls. He died of a complaint in his bowels, July 1, 1644, and was carried to his grave with universal lamentation. "He possessed a quick invention, a solid judgment, and a strong memory; was an excellent scholar, an able disputant, and a good theologian. He read the whole Bible through six times every year."‡ He was author of a work, entitled, "A Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds of Infants Baptism: as also concerning the Form of a Church, put forth against me by one Thomas Lamb," 1645.

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 83.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 39.

‡ Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 82—84.

**CALIBUTE DOWNING, D.D.**—This zealous person was born at Shenington in Gloucestershire, in the year 1604, descended of an ancient and worthy family, and educated in Oriel college, Oxford. After he had completed his studies at the university, he became successively rector of Ickford in Buckinghamshire, of West Ilsley in Berkshire, and vicar of Hackney, near London. Upon the last removal, Wood says, he sought to become chaplain to the Earl of Strafford, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, concluding that employment the readiest way to become a bishop; and while he had any hopes of obtaining such preferment, he wrote and spoke boldly in vindication of that calling. But being a reputed weathercock, turning whatever way his own humour and ambition blew him, he, upon some discontent, watched his opportunity to gain preferment in any way in which it could be obtained. "For," our author adds, "he was esteemed by the faction to be fitted for any base employment, and was one who ever looked awry on the church."\* This representation, proceeding from the pen of bigotry, and designed to reproach his character, contains a sufficient refutation of itself. Though Dr. Downing might, like some other clergymen, both in ancient and modern times, be too anxious to obtain greater preferment; there is certainly no substantial evidence, at least Mr. Wood has produced none, that he was ever very fond of bishops, or any other splendid and lucrative ecclesiastical office; especially as he *ever looked awry* on the church.

In the year 1640, Dr. Downing, in a sermon before the artillery company, maintained, "that for the defence of religion, and the reformation of the church, it was lawful to take up arms against the king, if it could be obtained in no other way." For this, he was forced to abscond, when he retired to the house of the Earl of Warwick, till the meeting of the long parliament. In the year 1643, he resigned his vicarage, and was succeeded by Dr. Spurstowe, afterwards one of the ejected nonconformists.† Upon the commencement of the civil war, he became chaplain to Lord Roberts in the Earl of Essex's army, in which office he has incurred the heavy censure of our high-church historians. Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall are charged with publicly avowing, "that the soldiers taken prisoners and released by the king *upon their oaths, that they would never bear arms against him*, were not obliged by that oath; and

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii, p. 26.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 778.



by their power absolved them, and so engaged those miserable wretches in a second rebellion.”\* It may be observed in reply, that there was no need for these divines to use these arts, because the prisoners referred to amounted only to 150 men, which could not be much wanted, especially as the city of London was now pouring out multitudes of recruits for the army: and in addition to this, priestly absolution was not then the practice, nor the power of it the claim, of puritan divines; but that which they utterly disbelieved and abhorred.+

Dr. Downing was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and chosen one of the assembly of divines. Wood says, “he sided with the independents, was a preacher of sedition and rebellion, and died suddenly and *very unwillingly*.”‡ Such kind of abuse this writer usually pours forth against the most holy and useful men, who were zealous to promote a reformation of the church. Dr. Downing died in the year 1644, aged forty years; and he left behind him the character of “a pious man, a warm preacher, and ever zealous to promote the interests of the Redeemer’s kingdom and the welfare of his country.” Sir George Downing, of East-Hatly in Cambridgeshire, was his son.§

His WORKS.—1. A Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical of this Kingdom, in relation to the Civil, 1633.—2. A Digression discussing some ordinary Exceptions against Ecclesiastical Officers, 1633.—3. A Discourse of the false Grounds which the Bavarian Party have laid to settle their own Faction, and shake the peace of the Empire, 1641.—4. A Discourse upon the Interest of England, 1641.—5. A Discursive Conjecture upon the Reasons which produce the present Troubles of Great Britain, different from those of Lower Germany, 1641.—6. Several Sermons, 1643.

JOHN DOWNHAM, B. D.—This reverend and excellent divine was the son of Dr. William Downham, bishop of Chester, and brother to Dr. George Downham, bishop of Londonderry in Ireland.¶ He was born in the city of Chester, educated in Christ’s college, Cambridge, and afterwards a laborious and useful preacher in London. It does

\* Clarendon’s Hist. vol. ii. p. 62.

† Dr. Grey is displeased with Mr. Oldmixon for treating Clarendon’s account as a falsehood; while he suppresses the grounds on which Mr. Oldmixon censures it, which are chiefly those we have given.—*Neal’s Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 3, 4.—*Grey’s Examination*, vol. ii. p. 10.

‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 27.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Wood’s Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 602.

not appear what preferment he obtained; but he was the first who delivered and afterwards promoted the famous lecture at Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange. In the year 1640, he united with his puritan brethren, the ministers of the city, in presenting their petition to the privy council, against Laud's cruel book of canons; in 1643, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press; and, in 1644, he was chosen one of the London ministers to examine and ordain public preachers. He was a venerable and celebrated divine; and he died at a very great age, about the close of the above year. Fuller, who has classed him among the learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge, styles him "a grave divine," and says, "he is memorable to posterity for his excellent work, entitled, *The Christian Warfare*."\* Wood denominates him "a learned and laborious writer."†

**THOMAS FOXLEY.**—This pious and reverend divine was lecturer at St. Martin's in the Fields, London; where he suffered grievous persecution from the intolerance of Bishop Laud. This ecclesiastical tyrant put down his lecture, to prevent, as he pretended, the spreading of the plague; whereas the plague was not then in the parish. Upon the suppression of his lecture, Mr. Foxley was deprived, for some time, of the means of procuring a livelihood. Afterwards he was brought before Laud, who charged him "with being concerned in the purchase of impropriations, and thereby endeavouring to bring the bishops within the feoffees' girdles." When Mr. Foxley said that this could not be, since the ministers on whom these impropriations were bestowed, were sent to their respective bishops to be approved by them; Laud replied, "that, if he had known him to have been so much concerned in the business of impropriations, he should not have got off so easily as he did before." Mr. Foxley had his study afterwards rifled by pursuivants, when he was apprehended and kept a prisoner two days; then carried before Sir John Lamb, who required him to give bond for his appearance before the high commission on the Thursday following. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he, with some difficulty, obtained a week's time to consider whether he

\* Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 191.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 335, iii. 46, 140.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 260.

might lawfully take the oath *ex officio*. When the archbishop observed, that he remembered him about the business of the feoffees, Mr. Foxley replied, "That he was encouraged in that business by bishops and privy counsellors, who conceived it to be a good work." He was, therefore, commanded to appear again on the Thursday following, and so dismissed. But the next Lord's day he was apprehended by another pursuivant, who carried him before the council-table; when, by a warrant under the hands of the archbishop and five others, he was sent to the Gatehouse. There he was kept close prisoner in a chamber not four yards square, for the space of twenty months, without pen, ink, or paper, or the access of any of his friends, excepting his wife; who, with the utmost difficulty, obtained leave to visit him during his extreme sickness, but no longer. He endured all this cruel usage without knowing or even guessing what could be the cause, unless it was his speaking in favour of the feoffees. Laud, indeed, insinuates, that Mr. Foxley was not thus punished on the account of the feoffees, but for some other cause which he refused to mention.\* However, by this cruel imprisonment, he was ruined in his circumstances, and his wife and four small children exposed to misery and want.†

Upon the meeting of the long parliament, Mrs. Foxley presented a petition to the house of commons in behalf of her distressed husband, still confined in close prison. This petition was read in the house, November 25, 1640, and referred to the committee for Dr. Leighton's petition. It was, at the same time, ordered that Mr. Foxley should have the same favour and privileges of the house as Dr. Leighton.

January 15th following, Mr. Rouse, one of the committee, delivered a report of Mr. Foxley's case, when the house resolved:

1. "That the warrant made by Sir John Lamb and others, for apprehending Mr. Foxley and seizing his papers, is illegal and unjust.

2. "That the warrant under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Coventry, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord of the Privy Seal, Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebank, for committing Mr. Foxley close prisoner, is illegal.

3. "That Mr. Foxley ought to be delivered from the

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 249.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 387, 388.



restraint he is under by colour of this warrant; and ought to have reparations for damages.

4. "That this business concerning Mr. Foxley be committed to the same committee, to prepare it in a fit way for this house to prefer it to the house of lords."\*

Mr. Foxley was, therefore, released from his long and severe confinement; but whether he received any reparations is very doubtful. The multiplicity of business which the parliament had to look after, and the confusions which followed, most probably prevented it. In the year 1644 he was witness against Laud at his trial.†

This persecuted servant of Christ was a popular and useful preacher in London, as well after as before his troubles; but at what place he was employed in his stated ministerial exercise, and the particular time of his death, we have not been able to learn. The following anecdote, however, may not be unworthy of notice.‡ The celebrated Mr. William Kiffin, being an apprentice in London, and having then no sense of religion upon his mind, became dissatisfied with his situation, and resolved to leave his master; and accomplished his intention early one morning, being then about fifteen years of age. Wandering about the streets of London, he happened to pass by St. Antholin's church, and seeing people go in, he followed them. The preacher was Mr. Foxley, who, preaching on the fifth commandment, unfolded the duty of servants to masters. This was so applicable to the case of young Kiffin as to create his astonishment. He thought the preacher knew, and addressed him personally. The effect was, that Kiffin returned immediately to his master, before his absence was discovered. He afterwards became a very pious man and a useful minister of Christ.

LAWRENCE SNELLING was many years the learned and pious rector of Paul'-Cray in Kent; but experienced most cruel usage in the high commission court, chiefly for refusing to read the "Declaration for Sports on the Lord's day." He was brought before his ecclesiastical judges at Lambeth, when he pleaded in his own defence the law of God and the realm, the authority of councils, fathers, and all modern writers. He also pleaded "that the declaration itself did

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 58, 142, 143.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 387.

‡ Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 403.

not appear to be his majesty's, though published in his name, because not enrolled in any court, nor published under the great seal, as were all proclamations and briefs to be read in churches: that there was no command from the king that it should be read in the churches by any particular persons, much less by ministers; nor any punishment threatened nor prescribed for not reading it;\* nor any authority given to archbishops, bishops, high commissioners, or any other persons, to question, suspend, or punish any minister for refusing so to do; and being merely a civil, not an ecclesiastical declaration, nor enjoined by any ecclesiastical canon or authority, but that which is only civil, no ecclesiastical judges could take cognizance of it, much less inflict any ecclesiastical censure for not observing it." These things he affirmed and maintained in his own defence before the high commission, when Archbishop Laud, now at the head of the commission, commanded that his defence should not be accepted, and declared in open court, "That whosoever should make such a defence as he had done, it should be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels for his pains." Upon this manifesto from the arbitrary prelate, the commissioners expunged as much of his defence as they pleased; and December 11, 1634, he was personally and judicially admonished to read the declaration within three weeks; but, refusing to observe the admonition, he was suspended from both his office and benefice. In the month of April, 1635, he was admonished a second time, and still refusing to comply, he was excommunicated. He was also charged "with having, at divers times, omitted to read some parts of the public service, to wear the surplice, and to bow his body, or make any corporal obeisance, at hearing or reading the name of Jesus." He was therefore told, that if he did not read the Declaration for Sports, and conform himself in all other points, before the second day of next term, he should suffer deprivation. For refusing to do which he was accordingly deprived.† In addition to the above cruelties, he was cast into prison; and so continued suspended, excommunicated, deprived, and imprisoned many years, to his unspeakable injury. November 16,

\* Mr. Snelling having observed that there was no penalty mentioned in the Book of Sports, Archbishop Laud, in his own defence, at his trial, boldly asserted, "I say then his obedience, and other men's, should have been the more free and cheerful."—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 345.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 150, 151.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 459—461.

1640, having been often brought before the king's-bench, but still a prisoner for his nonconformity, he presented his petition to the parliament for relief; when he was most probably released.\* In the year 1644 Mr. Snelling appeared as witness against the archbishop at his trial;† but when he died we are unable to ascertain.

GEORGE HUNTLEY was minister in Kent, a nonconformist to the superstitious ceremonies, and grievously censured in the high commission court. In the year 1627, for refusing to preach at a visitation, though his body was in a weak state, and he sent twenty shillings to the archdeacon to pay another for preaching, he was convened before the high commission for contempt; when he was fined a great sum and cast into prison. Having lain in prison about two years, he was brought to the bar upon his *habeas corpus*; when the cause of his commitment was returned, *a default in his canonical obedience*. He was at first bailed, because the breach of canonical obedience was an offence punishable by the ordinary, by ecclesiastical censure only; and not by the commissioners ecclesiastical, by fine and imprisonment.‡ But afterwards, by the solicitations of Bishop Laud, he was again delivered, and again brought into the high commission court; when a great fine was imposed upon him. He was deprived of his living, degraded from the ministry, and committed to a loathsome prison, where he continued about ten years, to the impoverishing of himself and family. What inhuman and shocking proceedings were these! At the same time Mr. Austin, the archbishop's chaplain, was presented to his living.§

Upon this barbarous usage Mr. Huntley brought his action of false imprisonment against the keeper and several of the commissioners. The business was carried into the king's-bench; when the attorney-general, by command of the king, moved that the commissioners might be spared, and the proceedings be only against the keeper. At length, after much debate, it was ordered that only two of the commissioners should answer. It was Archbishop Abbot who blew the coals in this business, and engaged the commissioners in these mad courses. He pressed the king, by

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 51.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 344.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 13.

§ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 161, 185, 186.



means of Bishop Laud, to stay the proceedings against the commissioners.

As this cause made a great ferment at court, it will be proper further to observe, that the king sent his advocate, Dr. Rives, to the chief justice, requiring that there should be no further proceeding in the business till he had spoken to him. The chief justice answered, "We receive the message;" but, upon consultation together, "the judges conceive the message not to stand with their oaths, commanding an indefinite stay of a cause between party and party, and might stop the course of justice so long as the king pleased." On this occasion Judge Whitlocke insisted upon these points:—1. "That it was against law to exempt any man from answering the action of another that would sue him.—2. That if the court should exempt any, where should they begin, and where should they end?—3. That it was altogether agreeable to the king's monarchical power, and was lawful for any subject to complain before him of any other subject, and to be answered in that complaint."

The high commissioners, not content with the answer of the judges, urged the king to take the cause into his own hands, who sent for the judges and COMMANDED THEM NOT TO PUT THE DEFENDANTS TO ANSWER. This did the tyrannical king, at the importunity of Laud and the archbishop,\* who carried on the business with great violence. In the conclusion, "the king expressly commanded, that they should not put the commissioners to answer;" but the learned judges stoutly answered, "that they could not, without breach of their oaths, observe that command;" so they parted in displeasure.

Afterwards, by the king's special command, the business was brought before the council-table, in the presence of the judges. After a long debate and hearing of Bishop Laud, the Bishop of Winchester, two of the privy council, the judges, and the king's attorney, it was agreed that the commissioners should answer.† This was a bold stand against the oppressions of a despotic monarch, prompted by the tyrannical court prelates to exercise an illegal power, to the unspeakable injury of his subjects.

\* Archbishop Abbot, it is said, was suspected and accused of being a puritan, because he would not, like his predecessor Bancroft, persecute them, nor blindly follow the maxims of the court with respect to government. But the zealous courtiers had, surely, no reason to complain on the present occasion.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 179.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 15.

Though this important point was gained, it does not appear with what success Mr. Huntley prosecuted the commissioners. He could not expect any considerable recompence from the high commission. He contended with cruel and barbarous oppressors. Having endured the most cruel imprisonment for many years, he was released, most probably, upon the meeting of the long parliament. In the year 1644 he was one of the witnesses against Archbishop Laud at his trial;\* and this is all that we know of him.

MR. LEIGH was many years a laborious minister of the gospel at Wolverhampton, and enjoyed a prebend in the cathedral of Lichfield, but was silenced by order of Archbishop Laud, for nonconformity. The archbishop, giving directions to Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar-general, says, "Take special notice of Mr. Leigh; and if you can fasten upon him any thing, whereby he may justly be censured, pray see it be done, or bring him to the high commission court to answer it there. Let him not obtain any license to preach any lecture there or in another place hard-by, at Tetenshall, whither those at Wolverhampton do run after him out of their own parish." He is charged with having churched refractory women in private, with being averse to the good orders of the church, and with having ordered the bell-man to give notice in open market of a sermon; for which, in the year 1635, he was suspended.† Upon Mr. Neal's mention of this case, Dr. Grey boldly and triumphantly asks, "And can Mr. Neal be so weak as to think this an insufficient cause of suspension? The rubricks," he adds, "are the law of the church, and are well known to be part of the statute-law of the land."‡ Here, without taking notice of the author's opinion of the rubricks, it may be observed, that Mr. Neal, with all men of liberal principles, would undoubtedly think, without discovering any peculiar weakness of mind, that this was no sufficient reason for an ecclesiastical censure, so tyrannically oppressive on the liberty of the subject. Mr. Leigh, who was thus removed from his flock, and driven from his sphere of ministerial usefulness, afterwards settled at Shrewsbury,

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 270.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 381.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 155.

where he was highly esteemed.\* Upon his removal from this place, he, in 1644, became minister at Shoreditch, London, by order of parliament.† It does not appear how long he remained in this last situation, nor can we obtain any further information concerning him.

HENRY SCUDDER, B. D.—This excellent person was educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and afterwards minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire, where, on account of his exemplary piety, great prudence, and excellent ministerial labours, he was highly esteemed.‡ Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn-Dukes in Wiltshire; and, in the year 1643, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, when he constantly attended. Fuller has placed him among the learned writers of the above college;§ and Granger denominates him “an eminent presbyterian divine.”|| He was author of an excellent work, entitled, “The Christian's daily Walk in Holy Security and Peace.” It passed through numerous editions, and is held in high repute among serious christians in the present day. Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen prefixed to it their recommendatory epistles. The former says, “I remember not any book which is written to be the daily companion of christians, to guide them in the practice of a holy life, which I prefer before this: I am sure none of my own. For so sound is the doctrine of this book, and so prudent and spiritual, apt and savoury, and all so suited to our ordinary cases and conditions, that I heartily wish no family may be without it.” The latter says, “There is generally that soundness and gravity in the whole doctrine of the book, that weight of wisdom in the directions given for practice, that judgment in the resolutions of doubts and objections, that breathing of the spirit of holiness, zeal, humility, and the fear of the Lord, in the whole; that I judge, and am satisfied therein, that it will be found of singular use unto all such as in sincerity desire a compliance with his design.” This work was in so high a repute, that it was translated into high Dutch, by the learned Mr. Theodore Haak.¶ Mr. Scudder wrote the life

\* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 371.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 380.

‡ Clark's *Lives* annexed to his *Martyrologie*, p. 318.

§ Fuller's *Hist. of Camb.* p. 92. || Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 183.

¶ Mr. Haak translated “The Dutch Annotations upon the Bible” into English, and is said to have projected the first plan of the Royal Society in London.—*Ibid.*



of Mr. William Whately, prefixed to his "Prototypes." He was one of the preachers before the parliament; and one of his sermons is entitled, "God's Warning to England by the voice of his Rod, delivered in a Sermon before the honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, October 30, 1644."

LAWRENCE CLARKSON was a zealous preacher among the separatists in the beginning of the civil wars, and in the year 1644, having embraced the sentiments of the anti-pædobaptists, was baptized by immersion. He appears to have preached at various places in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and even in a few months after avowing a change of sentiment, warrants were issued against him in both counties, for the marvellous sin of dipping. He was soon apprehended, and, by the committee of Suffolk, was sent to prison. Having lain in prison several months, and his friends in those parts having petitioned the committee for his release, but without success, an order was at length obtained, either from a committee of parliament, or from the chairman of it, requiring his discharge. The county committee, however, refused to obey this order. They were resolved not to release him. After confinement upwards of six months, Mr. Clarkson himself petitioned the committee, and signified his retraction of his sentiments concerning baptism. This petition was as follows:

"The humble petition of Lawrence Clarkson humbly sheweth—That whereas your petitioner hath been above six months in bonds for dipping; in which time he has taken great pains, both by dispute and searching the scriptures, in which he doth find, and is convinced, that he ought not to dip any more. Neither, after the day of his conviction, being July 10, will your petitioner either dip or teach the same; but only wait upon God for a further manifestation of his truth. So, expecting your worship's answer, shall daily pray.

"LAWRENCE CLARKSON."

Upon Mr. Clarkson's appearance before the committee, he was required to sign the following recantation, as entered in the committee's books:

"July 15, 1645.

"This day Lawrence Clarkson, formerly committed for an anabaptist, and for dipping, doth now before this committee disclaim his errors. And whereas formerly

“he said he durst not leave his dipping, if he might gain  
 “all the committee’s estates by so doing, now he saith, that  
 “he by the holy scriptures is convinced, that his said  
 “opinions were erroneous, and that he will not, and dare not  
 “practise it again, if he might gain all the committee’s  
 “estates by doing it. And that he makes this recantation,  
 “not for fear, or to gain his liberty, but merely out of a  
 “sense of his errors, wherein he will endeavour to reform  
 “others.

“LAWRENCE CLARKSON.”

Mr. Edwards, in publishing this account, endeavoured to expose the weaknesses and infirmities of the sectaries, against whom he manifested an implacable hatred. Accordingly, he further observes, that Mr. Clarkson, after his release, turned seeker, denying the scriptures to be a sufficient rule of doctrine and practice, and that the whole will of God was yet revealed. Being separated from the baptists, he published a pamphlet in his own defence, entitled, “The Pilgrimage of Saints, by Church cast out, in Christ found, seeking Truth.” In this pamphlet he endeavoured to acquit himself, by observing, “That he did not assert the baptism of believers by immersion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneously practised, there being now no true churches, nor true administrators of that ordinance.”\* Whether this be indeed a sufficient vindication of his conduct, is left with the candid reader to determine. Our author, speaking of Mr. Clarkson and several others, declares, “They were worse than papists; and there never were monsters more to be abhorred than they.”†

This censorious writer observes, that Mr. Clarkson, preaching on a Lord’s day afternoon, at Bow church, in Cheapside, London, he began his prayer to God with *right honourable Lord God*; and prayed that God would bless the king’s army, and bless the saints in both the parliament and the king’s army; and his sermon was a rhapsody of nonsense. “This,” says he, “was not done in a corner, but in a great and full audience; when there was present one member of the house of commons, if not more, besides divers other persons of quality. Though this Clarkson was in London some time after this, yet was he never questioned, nor called to any account for this, that I could ever learn.”‡

\* Edwards’s *Gangræna*, part i. p. 104—106. Second Edit.

† Ibid. p. 211.

‡ Ibid. part ii. p. 6. Third Edit.

Mr. Bailie, who was no less indignant than his brother Edwards, against all who opposed the impositions and uniformity of a national church, tells us, that Mr. Clarkson and his brethren preached, "That the moral law of God did not bind any christian to obedience; that magistrates ought not to punish murderers, if they were church members; that all preachers, who pressed repentance and sorrow for sin, were legal; that God was not displeased with the sins of his saints, and would not have them to be displeased with them; and that all our duties are done for us by Christ."\*

\* Bailie's Anabaptism, p. 95.

END OF VOL. II.















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